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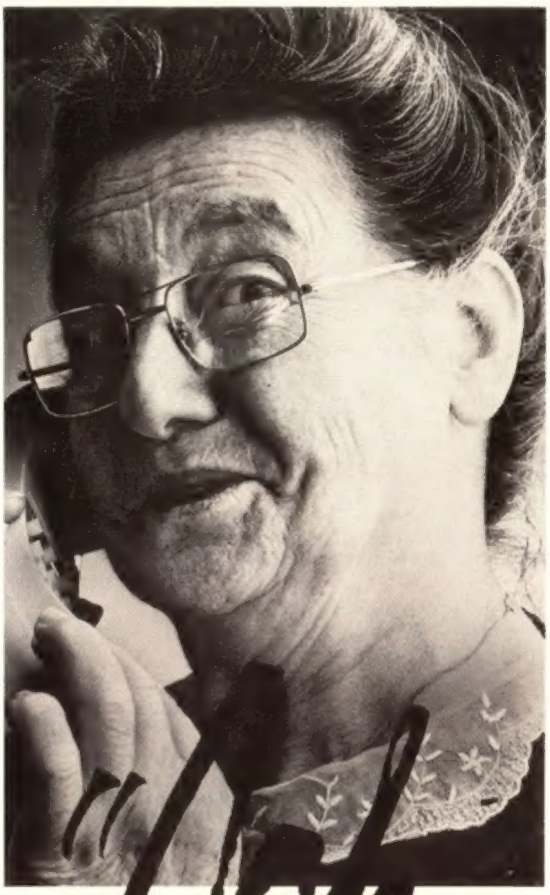

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"Ach Du lieber!"

NOVEMBER 30, 1981 Vol. 118 No. 22 **TIME** THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

A Letter from the Publisher

When TIME Senior Correspondent William Rademaekers returned to Europe last spring after a four-year absence, he was struck by the profound changes in European attitudes toward the Atlantic Alliance and the U.S. Growing numbers of people, mostly young, were protesting the deployment of new U.S. missiles on European soil and voicing their concern about the mounting hostility between the two superpowers. Rademaekers talked with idealistic youths in and out of the peace movements; with members of the postwar generation coming to positions of influence in business, politics and teaching; and with government leaders who were apprehensive about the drift to pacifism and neutralism in their countries. "In the span of a year," says Rademaekers, "they have emerged as a powerful lobbying force." The challenge of the peace movements and the responses of the Reagan Administration and the Soviet leadership are the subject of this week's cover story in the World section and also of the Nation section's lead story.

KEN GOFF

Correspondents Cronin and Rademaekers in London

The size and intensity of the peace protests impressed those who worked on the project. Rademaekers found the leaders of the peace movements "intelligent, knowledgeable, persuasive and, above all, convinced of the rightness of their cause." London Correspondent Mary Cronin, who attended a huge antinuclear demonstration in Hyde Park, compared "the solemnity, the pervasive anger and anxiety, the grim determination to stop what they see as disaster" with U.S. protests against the Viet Nam War. For Bonn Bureau Chief Roland Flamini, the controversy on nuclear defense in West Germany was both ubiquitous and cacophonous: "It swamps the pages of newspapers and washes in huge waves over television," says Flamini. "With its stentorian overtones, there is nothing quite like the sound of a German obsession in full cry."

The cover story, checked by World Head Reporter-Researcher Ursula Nadasdy de Gallo, was written by Associate Editor Henry Muller. As TIME's European economics correspondent based in Brussels, then as Paris bureau chief for four years until last summer, Muller watched the antinuclear movement take root and grow in The Netherlands in the late '70s, but he admits, "It never occurred to me then that it would spread the way it has." As Rademaekers sees it, "This is only the beginning of the European peace movement story and its impact on the alliance. We will hear much more."

John a. Meyer

Index

Cover: Photograph by Action Press/Photoreporters

36
Cover: By the millions, demonstrators against deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles on the Continent surge through streets of Europe, forming a political force that threatens governments and NATO's future. *See* WORLD.

62
Economy & Business: To beat high housing costs, Americans are sharing homes, renting spare rooms and turning to mobile homes. ▸ Some foreign buyers of U.S. companies fail to understand the American market.

16
Reagan's Message: His proposal to free Europe of land-based nuclear missiles is favored by NATO, but Moscow has problems with a bold plan that is neither simple nor straightforward—yet may be historic. *See* NATION.

20
Nation
Congress works overtime to keep Uncle Sam in business. ▸ The curious case of Richard Allen. ▸ Dallas *vs.* Houston.

49
World
Poor Soviet harvest is a political problem. ▸ Protestants rally against I.R.A. ▸ The pros and cons of Finlandization.

60
Essay
To counter the Soviet "peace offensive," the U.S. should rethink its nuclear doctrine, build up conventional forces and shut up.

72
Space
Shuttle post-mortem: the bird flew better than expected, and scientists are excited by the results of onboard experiments.

74
Art
The Painted Stoa was a central gathering place for classical Athens. Its newly found remains recall democracy's birth.

82
Environment
The returnable bottle law triumphs in Massachusetts. ▸ Secretary Watt and conservationists tangle over wilderness drilling.

88
Sexes
Are married women having more affairs? A pair of "experts" discuss two books on the subject and the meaning of it all.

90
Theater
Katharine Hepburn is overpowering in a slight new comedy. ▸ Sondheim and Prince adrift in their rueful new musical.

91
Music
In New York City, peppery Composer-Critic Virgil Thomson turns 85. ▸ In San Francisco, Pavarotti turns to a new role.

95
Books
Alison Lurie's *The Language of Clothes*, from preppie to punk, with thoughts as startling as a nudist at a dress ball.

99
Sport
An ex-Boston College basketball player is on trial for shaving points, but somehow no one cares about scandals any more.

4 Letters
61 Milestones
71 People
79 Education
80 Press
84 Science
87 Behavior
100 Show Business

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The inspiration for this series was the question, "What are the most critical issues facing the industries in which LTV is active?"

LTV. Looking Ahead

What is America's defense responsibility for the rest of the world? Sadat vs. one of America's brilliant educators

ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY

Anwar Sadat
President
Arab Republic of Egypt

Democracy is essentially a matter of ethics, and in a democracy we must stand ready for a daily test of ethics.

Throughout the 70's you Americans suffered from your Vietnam complex. This gave the Soviets their freedom of action.

In Africa and the Middle East, the Soviets have built three belts of security for themselves. The first belt stretches from Angola to Mozambique. The second belt runs from Afghanistan through the anarchy of Iran, then South Yemen, Ethiopia, and finally Libya. The third belt is now under construction. Libya and Syria are starting a union together. The Soviet Union has already signed a treaty with Syria. This would be automatic in the case of Libya.

Look at the map. These three belts are clearly seen. They threaten us. We are a small country. But if the Soviets try to consolidate these belts, I shall fight.

If you in America do not again take up your responsibilities, as the first superpower of the world and the one which supports peace, all of us are doomed. We shall see the Soviet Union in the Persian Gulf as well as in the Mediterranean. We shall see them putting their puppets everywhere. And we know what it means to be a puppet of the Soviet Union. They foreclose people's dreams. They cancel out all logic. For they themselves are robots. It is only the head of the party who can act.

The forces of peace can win. I have dealt with the Soviets for a long time. Check them, and they will pull back.

For three years I have told the Americans this. I have said to the United States and the Western European nations that I will give them facilities to defend their position in the Persian Gulf. The collapse of the oil facilities there could mean the collapse of Western civilization. Without this oil the factories will stop. Look at all your tanks in NATO. Without oil they are scarecrows.

Of course to share our facilities with you and to cooperate in other economic matters is not only in your interest. It is in our interest. To whom will we send our oil, if not the West? Who will give us the know-how to rebuild our countries? Who will in the end share with us the nuclear energy to replace oil, if Western civilization collapses?

The Soviet Union will not give us these things. They have new technology in the military field only.

In the 80's there must be a new peaceful order in the world. I believe that we in Egypt can participate. To protect this order, the U.S. must accept its responsibilities.

You Americans did not ask me for facilities to reach the hostages in Iran. But one day I came and said that I was ready to give the United States such facilities.

I remain ready to offer any facilities that will help you reach the Gulf states. The face of the United States has changed for us. From that of the policeman—who represented imperialism and colonialism—to that of the peacemaker.

NO RESPONSIBILITY

Noam Chomsky
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Professor of Linguistics

The cold war has been highly functional for the superpowers, providing each with a framework for carrying out its designs within the reach of its power.

I am asked "to address the subject of U.S. defense responsibility for the rest of the world and why America need not perpetuate this role." The question is unanswerable; there is no such role. States use their power to defend "the national interest," a mystification devised to conceal the special interests of those with domestic power. Typically, this policy is disguised in high-sounding rhetoric, which we dismiss with contempt when the official enemy "defends freedom and socialism" by sending tanks to Berlin, Budapest, Prague or Kabul, while reciting it when our own state acts similarly.

When the U.S. Air Force began the systematic bombardment of rural South Vietnam in 1962, it was defending those who were concerned over the "domino effect" of a successful nationalist-communist revolution that might be emulated elsewhere. The aggression was masked as defense against "internal aggression" by Vietnamese—indeed, South Vietnamese.

In 1947, Truman announced that the U.S. would "support free people who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures," specifically, the Greek royalist elites and Nazi collaborators restored to power by the British Army, by then unable to repress the rebellion caused largely by British-backed terrorism.

The U.S. proceeded to defend the Greeks from "internal aggression" by supervising a program of massive repression, tens of thousands of political prisoners and exiles, political executions, reeducation camps, forced population removal, etc., exactly as any rational person reading the Truman doctrine would have predicted. In this case too, what

was feared was the domino effect.

When the U.S. backed an invasion force in Guatemala in 1954, overthrowing a mildly reformist democratic government and installing a regime whose descendants still administer a huge reign of terror, it was defending the "national interest" but nothing else. The same is true of the destruction of the peasant society of northern Laos, the arming of mass murderers in Indonesia, El Salvador, etc.

In each case, the propaganda system invokes the threat of the superpower enemy, exactly as the USSR does. The cold war has been highly functional for the superpowers, providing each with a framework for carrying out its designs within the reach of its power. Hence its persistence, despite the threat of mutual annihilation.

The world, however, is not what it once was. The relative decline of Soviet and American power brings forth new and increasingly assertive rivals. The EEC is moving slowly toward a more independent role, which may engage it in conflict with the U.S. in the Middle East and elsewhere. Similarly, Japan.

Before long, pursuit of the "national interest" may require new programs, new forms of violence and terror, and new rhetoric.

WHAT THE PUBLIC THINKS

Reported by
Kenneth Schwartz
Vice President, Opinion Research Corporation

It all depended upon the kind of military help we mentioned. Advisors? Yes. Troops? No.

"How much responsibility, if any, do you think the United States has to protect other countries from takeovers or military action taken against them?" That was the question we asked the American public.

Of the 1,008 people contacted in a nationwide telephone survey for LTV by Opinion Research Corporation, seven in ten believe that the U.S. has at least a fair amount of responsibility to undertake such protection, while 25 percent believe the U.S. has little or no obligation to do so. The remaining 5 percent have no opinion on the subject.

However, Americans are quite selective when it comes to the kind of military help they believe the U.S. should give a foreign country threatened by aggression.

Advisors vs. troops

"If a foreign country that is being threatened by aggression asks for protection, would you favor or oppose the United States sending military advisors?" Sixty percent said they would be in favor of such a move; 27 percent were opposed. Another 4 percent said "it depends"... while 9 percent had no opinion.

The question of sending troops provoked an entirely different response. Only 26 percent favored sending troops into a foreign country threatened by aggression that asked for protection. Fifty-seven percent registered their opposition to such a move. Six percent said "it depends"... and 11 percent had no opinion.

Sending and selling weapons

We also asked a question regarding *whether you would favor or oppose supplying weapons to a threatened country.* In favor: 42 percent. Opposed: 40 percent. It depends: 5 percent. No opinion: 13 percent. This was the only question where there wasn't a majority for one side of the issue.

The majority of people would favor *selling* arms to a friendly or neutral foreign country. In favor of selling arms: 53 percent. Opposed: 31 percent. It depends: 12 percent. No opinion: 4 percent.

WHAT LTV BELIEVES

Speaking for LTV,
Paul Thayer
Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer

President Sadat's message was first published in August 1981. We shall continue to run it. Terrorism will not be successful in silencing a great man's voice.

At LTV, we believe it is our responsibility to help focus attention on issues that are critical to our country and our corporation. We support President Reagan's proposal that America restore its own military capability.

In a report to Congress last year, the Defense Department estimated that the Soviets had spent a total of *350 billion dollars more* on defense during the 1970's than we did. Last year, the Soviets devoted 12 percent of their GNP to defense—compared to our allocation of 5 percent. The Soviets have 3.5 million people in uniform compared to our 2 million. They enjoy a 2-to-1 advantage in tactical combat aircraft: a 3-to-1 advantage in tanks and armored vehicles; and a 4-to-1 superiority in attack submarines. *How should we assess this?*

Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger said, "It is neither reasonable nor prudent to view the Soviet military buildup as defensive in nature. It would be dangerously naive to expect the Soviet Union—if it once achieves clear military superiority—not to try to exploit their military capability even more fully than they are now doing."

LTV believes we must honor our defense commitments. But to do so we must operate from a position of strength. In terms of real dollars, we are spending on defense today roughly what we were spending after the Korean War. As a percent of GNP our defense outlay today is substantially less than it was in the early 1960's. President Reagan is redressing this dangerous trend. We support him in this effort. An effort aimed at improving our defenses, while still seeking to avoid an uncontrollable and unaffordable arms race.

In the final analysis increased defense spending will not make us more secure. Defense dollars must be spent wisely. We cannot afford a huge arsenal of weapons at the cost of a sick economy. Again, we feel the President is on the right track. His program to revive our economic strength, and the spirit of America, is every bit as vital to world security as the effort to strengthen our military posture.

LTV—through its subsidiary, Vought Corporation—has contributed to serving the free world's defense needs since World War I. We are dedicated to providing superior aircraft, missiles and technology at the lowest possible cost. The defense business is not always a popular one. When the issues are clearly defined, however, we think most people see it to be a necessary one.

Defense technology is only one part of LTV's business, but one we take pride in as an instrument through which we help the nation meet its commitments in the continuing struggle for freedom.

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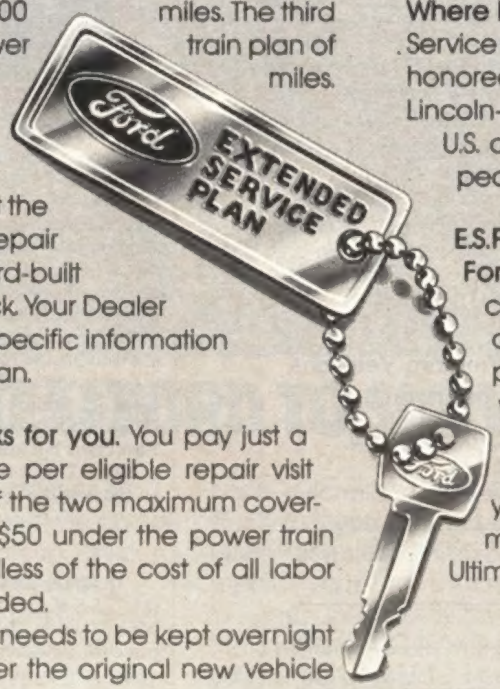

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Letters

AWACS

To the Editors:

President Reagan's incredible victory in the AWACS controversy [Nov. 9] is proof of his strength and leadership. He must be admired for his persuasive powers and his ability to withstand and deal with unpopular issues.

Elsie Kendis
Philadelphia

On the day after the Senate approved the AWACS deal, the Saudis raised the price of their oil. We are not only going to sell AWACS planes, we are going to pay for them as well.

Douglas V. Commerce
Merritt Island, Fla.

Your articles about the sale of AWACS to Saudi Arabia make it seem as if the only issue was Israel's security. The major point is that we have sold sophisticated secret equipment to an unstable regime that still countenances slavery, mutilation and racial and religious prejudice. Saudi Arabia is run by a benighted oligarchy that is likely to be overthrown in the near future, with the weapons we have sent them falling into hostile hands. Moreover, the Saudis have shown little willingness to cooperate in finding some rational and fair solution not only to the continuing Middle East crisis but also to the world's economic crisis. That's not oil *vs.* the Jews; it's oil *vs.* the world.

George E. Ehrlich
Philadelphia

If Israel played cat and mouse with the U.S.S.R., it would receive much more consideration. Instead, it is paying the price for unwavering loyalty to the U.S.

Albert Cohen
Oklahoma City

Your magazine falsely reported that I promised President Reagan my vote in favor of the sale of AWACS planes if the vote in the Senate was close. To the contrary, I told President Reagan that I would not

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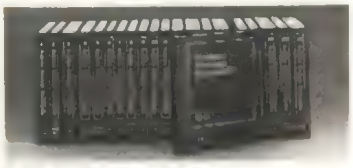

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Letters

commit my vote one way or the other until I had heard the debate in the Senate chamber.

Your magazine also made the insidious implication that I may have offered my vote in exchange for backing of sugar-price supports. At no time did I, the President, or anyone speaking for his side propose a deal of any sort.

Russell B. Long
U.S. Senator, Louisiana

Memorializing Viet Nam

The jury for the Viet Nam memorial competition has chosen well [Nov. 9]. Good design need not shout to be heard.

Ellie Huggins
Glen Ellyn, Ill.

As a Viet Nam veteran, I think the winning entry for the Viet Nam memorial is a loser. The proposed monument may satisfy the needs of the Washington Mall but it fails to impart what the war meant to those who fought it. In 1968 newsmagazines printed a photo of a U.S. army tank carrying soldiers wounded in Hué during the *Tet* offensive. That picture says more about the pain and sacrifice Americans suffered than the proposed "hole in the ground."

Randy Holyday
Denver

The Viet Nam design looks as if the earth's mantle is being picked up like a rug so the memory of that struggle can be swept underneath.

Richard C. Hippner
St. James, N.Y.

The proposed monument to commemorate the Viet Nam War and its veterans looks so peaceful. I suggest one addition: a statue of an American rifleman pointing toward the White House with the inscription NEVER AGAIN WILL SO MANY GIVE SO MUCH FOR SO LITTLE.

C. Scott Calvert
Timonium, Md.

Piracy and Rape

The Thai government's claim that it has insufficient funds and manpower to stop the piracy against the Vietnamese boat people [Nov. 9] is fallacious. Bangkok simply lacks the will to do anything about it. Perhaps it considers piracy an effective means to deter the flow of Vietnamese refugees into Thailand.

Vu Qui Duc
Austin

Why are the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the U.S. Government attempting an antipiracy campaign by channeling funds through the same corrupt regime that allows and encourages this abominable behavior by its fishermen-pirates?

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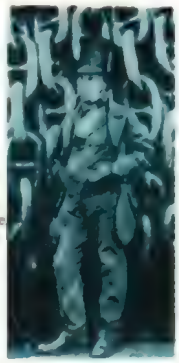

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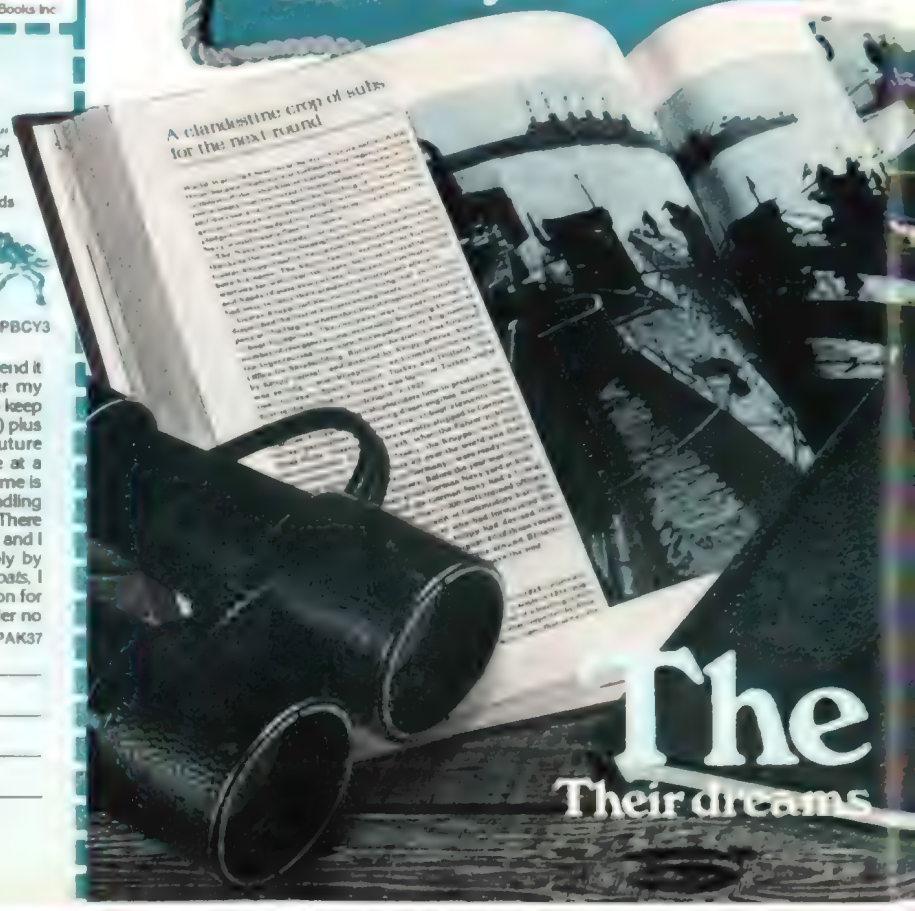

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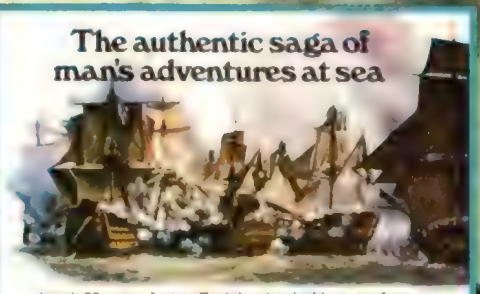

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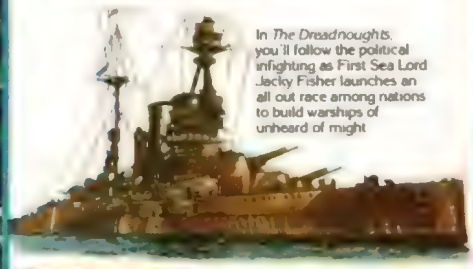

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Letters

Volunteers are waiting on the shores to receive these victims, only to be frustrated, if not prevented from helping, by boat merchants and local authorities. Working through the Thai government is like feeding the mouth that bites.

Sarah Lanier
Atlanta

As a Thai citizen, I feel sorrow and regret for what happened to the Viet Nam boat girls in the Thai Sea. However, I am uneasy about the fact that Thailand, which has many serious problems of its own, must now care for some 300,000 Indochinese refugees.

How can anyone expect a small, developing country like mine to provide for all these people when the U.S., the richest nation, does not contribute sufficient funds to help?

Nipada Devakul
Chestnut Hill, Mass.

Presidential Image

Your Essay, "Fluctuations on the Presidential Exchange" [Nov. 9], neglected to give Richard Nixon credit for bringing the struggle in Viet Nam to a halt.

Albert Harper
London, Ont.

In speculating on whether Harry Truman might join the untouchables, it should be noted that his Administration dealt with 48 complex states and countless millions throughout the world. In Jefferson's and Washington's day our country was but a ribbon along the Eastern seaboard. Lincoln also presided during simpler times, holding together 36 predominantly agrarian states with a population of under 40 million.

John Hulston
Springfield, Mo.

You failed to recognize one of Lyndon Johnson's many domestic achievements: the Civil Rights Act of '64.

Margo O'Conner
Monmouth Beach, N.J.

Unwed and Pregnant

After reading the article on the tremendous rise of illegitimate births and abortions [Nov. 9], I see that easy access to birth control and abortion has not helped solve this problem. Too often human life is viewed as disposable or worthless unless related to our needs. Until we accept all human life as having value, illegitimacy will continue to rise.

Barbara J. Grygleski
Tomah, Wis.

Specialists say teen-agers are unable "to understand the use of contraceptives or the consequences of non-use." This is ridiculous. Young people can understand. The real problem is the older generation's inability to teach our youth the hows and

whys of contraception. Because we Americans find our children's sexuality embarrassing, we would rather accept the plight of unmarried teen-age mothers—and hold ourselves blameless.

William Spolar
St. Cloud, Minn.

When Canada's population needed a boost, it rewarded new mothers with cash. What we need now is the reverse. For every year a girl between twelve and 22 does not have a baby, she should receive a reward of $1,000 from the Government. This might discourage the youngster whose chief aim in having a baby is to set up housekeeping on her own, usually at the taxpayer's expense.

Mary T. McEvoy
Minneapolis

As with most articles about pregnant teen-agers, your article mentions nothing about the fathers of the illegitimate offspring. Am I missing something, or can a woman, teen-age or otherwise, become pregnant all by herself?

Marian François
Cambridge, Mass.

Battered Judges

It is not surprising that public outrage took the shape of "Open Season on the Judiciary" [Nov. 9] in the case of Honolulu's Circuit Judge Harold Shintaku. When Shintaku threw out the jury's murder verdict and allowed a notorious criminal to go free, he was declaring open season on the citizen-victim.

John Degatina
Los Angeles

Car Costs

Instead of charging more and more for its cars [Nov. 9], and wasting money on rebate plans and advertising, why doesn't Detroit have a half-price sale? Any smart merchandiser knows that most people will buy anything at 50% off. Surely the automakers would rather move cars for some return instead of stockpiling and getting no money.

Margaret C. Biggs
Lexington, Mass.

Bumping Bumpers

On the debate over how strong automobile bumpers should be [Nov. 2], before World War II, all cars could survive much more than a 5-m.p.h. thud without damage to the body. Bumpers were made out of spring steel. They were what they should be, bumpers. If a 2½-m.p.h. requirement is allowed, we'd better not kick or accidentally touch one when we are walking along at 3 m.p.h.

Darius D. Buell
Elmira, Mich.

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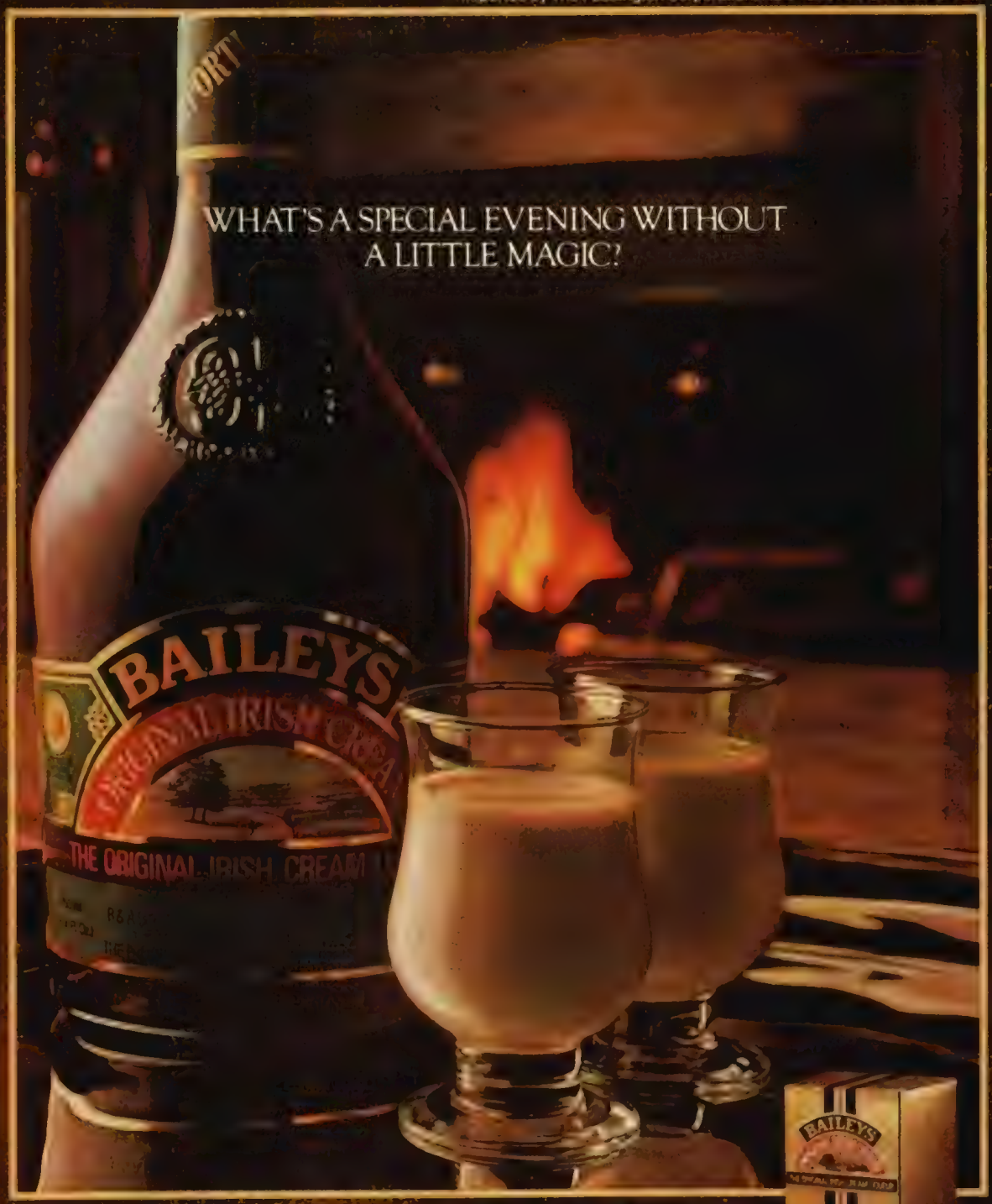

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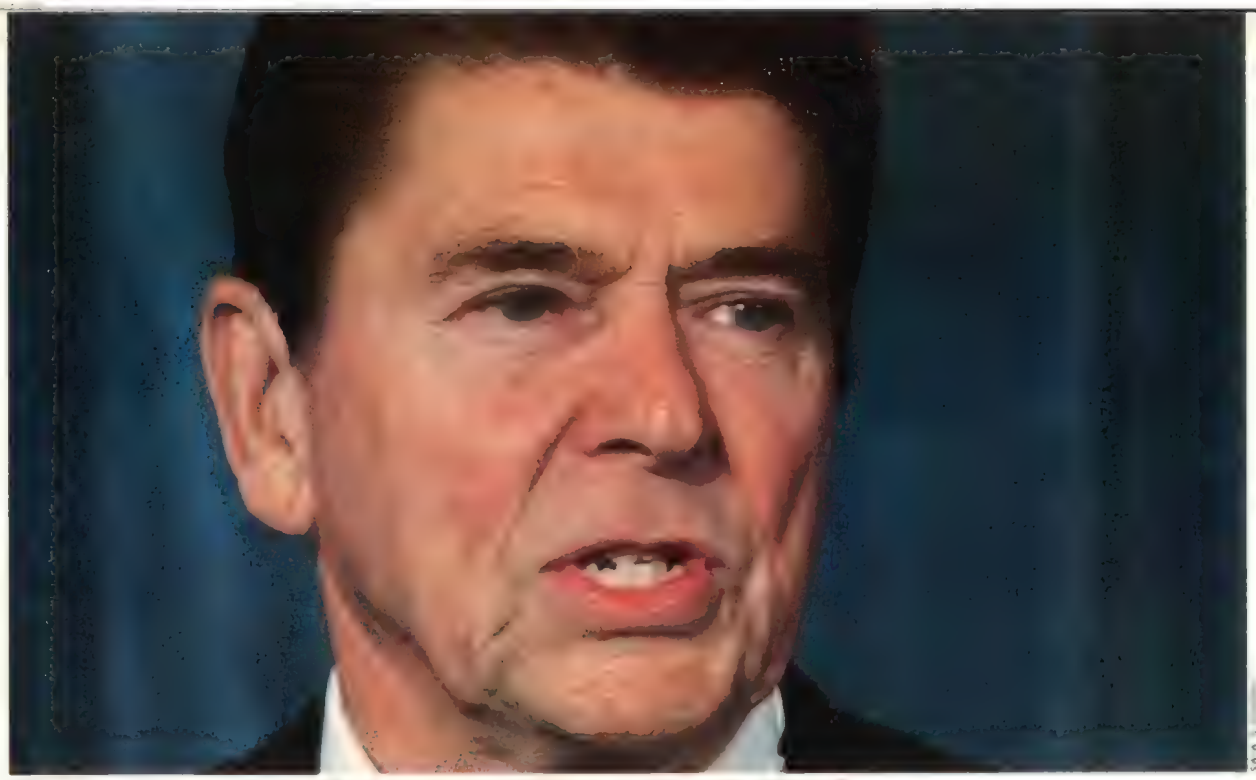

"We could together reduce the dread threat of nuclear war which hangs over the people of Europe."

Nation

TIME NOVEMBER 30, 1981

Starting from Zero

Reagan reassures Europe with "a simple, straightforward message"

The stakes were high, and Ronald Reagan knew it as he stepped to the lectern of the 14th-floor dining room in Washington's National Press Club last Wednesday morning. In the restless cities of Western Europe, anti-American demonstrations on behalf of pacifism and neutralism posed a new threat to the unity of the NATO alliance (*see* WORLD). In part, the protests were encouraged and exploited by Moscow, which in recent months has mounted a skillful propaganda campaign to block the stationing, primarily in West Germany, of new NATO nuclear missiles. Compounding the problem was Reagan himself, whose harsh, tough talk to the Kremlin has frightened U.S. supporters abroad and given force to neutralists' arguments that the President is a shoot-from-the-hip zealot, hell-bent on provoking nuclear war.

The moment was ripe for statesmanship. And Reagan lived up to it.

"It's a simple, straightforward yet historic message," he said, addressing the largest audience ever to watch a live presidential speech. (In addition to the 300 journalists who crammed the Press Club, an estimated 200 million watched the speech, which was beamed overseas by the U.S. International Communications Agency.) In an extraordinarily measured and thoughtful address, perhaps the most statesmanlike that he has ever given, the President offered a four-part proposal to free the Continent from the specter of nuclear war. It was designed both to reassure the Europeans of his Administration's peaceful intentions and to put the Soviets on the defensive. The essence of his message was what has become known in diplomatic parlance as the "zero option." Reagan announced that the U.S. would forgo plans to place 572 new medium-range missiles in Europe if the Soviets would scrap comparable nuclear missiles they have deployed against Western Europe in the past decade. That done, the number of medium-range missiles aimed by each foe at its potential enemy would indeed be zero.

Alternately stern and folksy, the once and present actor made his customary skillful use of props (a map of Europe, a chart comparing missile levels) as he delivered his message. His points: the U.S. and its allies cut back on military spending while the Soviets not only built up their conventional forces but steadily added to their arsenal of SS-20 missiles. NATO's plan to deploy new Pershing II and land-based cruise missiles was designed only to counter this threat. All programs should and would be canceled if Moscow would dismantle its own medium-range missile force. Reagan stressed that any treaty must be verifiable by both sides. Said he: "Our approach with verification will be to emphasize openness and creativity rather than the secrecy and suspicion which have undermined confidence in arms control in the past."

Despite his Administration's anti-Soviet posture, Reagan has carried on a correspondence—three exchanges of letters since February—with Leonid Brezhnev, and he read from a letter he had written to the Soviet President while recuperating in the hospital from the assassination attempt: "Mr. President, should we not be concerned

with eliminating the obstacles which prevent our people—those you and I represent—from achieving their most cherished goals?" Responding to ploy with gambit, the Soviet embassy in Washington released Brezhnev's letter of reply from last May. "We do not seek confrontation with the U.S.," the Soviet leader wrote, and once again he urged a summit at "a moment acceptable to both of us."

In addition, Reagan proposed the renewal early next year of talks on strategic arms limitations, which have been stalled since the U.S. Senate blocked ratification of SALT II, signed by Brezhnev and Jimmy Carter in 1979. To emphasize that the goal of those talks should be a substantial reduction in the number of intercontinental missiles, Reagan urged that the negotiations should be renamed START, for strategic arms *reduction* talks.* Reagan also called for a cut in conventional forces in Europe and for better communication about planned military maneuvers to enhance East-West stability.

The President's description of his proposal as "simple" and "straightforward," however honestly meant, was a trifle disingenuous. Certainly it is not simple. The Soviets will surely insist that the negotiations address items that Reagan did not mention: warheads on NATO bombers, missiles aboard submarines in the North Atlantic, the arsenals of Britain and France. Some, in fact, saw it simply as a ploy to reassure NATO allies and thus help secure the controversial deployment of the very same missiles that he was offering to scrap.

Nor was the proposal straightforward, at least from the Soviet perspective. A few hours before Reagan delivered his speech, Ambassador to Moscow Arthur Hartman visited Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko to present an hour-long preview. The Kremlin's official response was predictably brusque and negative. "A mere propaganda action," scoffed *Pravda*. But there were a few small signs that the Kremlin might be willing to discuss some of the U.S. proposals at the long-stalled talks on reducing nuclear forces in Europe, which are scheduled to begin in Geneva next week. A leading Soviet military specialist, Radomir Bogdanov, told TIME: "I know we are going to Geneva with a sincere desire to negotiate." And Central Committee Member Vadim Zagladin, a foreign policy adviser to Brezhnev, said in a Moscow press conference that Reagan's speech was an agreeable change from the U.S. President's past "bellicose" statements. Said Zagladin: "If in fact he now wants to be a peacemaker, then we can welcome this as a turn for the better."

In European capitals, the official reaction to Reagan's gambit was all but euphoric. Uncertain of the President's true intentions, Western leaders were eager for a signal that he was seriously committed to the "two-track" decision reached by NATO in 1979, which linked the stationing of new nuclear weapons in Europe to a renewed effort by the U.S. to negotiate realistic arms limits with the Soviets. The President helped dispel some of those doubts. In Bonn, where Brezhnev was scheduled to start a four-day visit on Sunday, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt had just concluded talks with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. "Reagan has set forth a comprehensive concept for the stabilization of peace," said Schmidt. Added Thatcher: "It will receive a warm welcome not only in political circles but in the hearts and minds of people across Europe."

Italian Premier Giovanni Spadolini was visiting French President François Mitterrand when the speech was given. Said Spadolini, upon emerging from the Elysée Palace: "The Italian and French reactions are both favorable." Concurred French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson: "The zero solution is obviously advisable." Skeptics, however, dismissed the speech as a cynical attempt to score off the Soviets by making Moscow an offer it could not accept.

The European applause was no great surprise: over the past months, allied leaders have been pressing Washington hard to accept the zero option. In fact, success seemed to have the usual number of fathers. Officials in West Germany and Italy, the countries where most of the planned new missiles are to be based, claimed partial credit for devising the plan. The most notable claimant was Chancellor Schmidt, who likes to see himself as a useful mediator between the superpowers. Reagan's speech, said Schmidt, "gives me a broad base for the talks" he will have this week with Brezhnev. For once in the East-West war of words, the Soviets will be forced to react to an American peace initiative.

There was another reason for European satisfaction with Reagan's speech. Though long used to being confronted with Washington *faits accomplis*, the NATO leaders this time had been kept informed on the evolution of the policy decision. The zero option was discussed in a meeting of allied defense ministers in Gleneagles, Scotland, in October. Three weeks ago, a draft of the final negotiating proposal was approved by a special NATO consultative group in Brussels chaired by Assistant Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger. He carefully briefed top European officials on the speech days before Reagan delivered it.

The concord could hardly have come at a more propitious moment. Relations between the U.S. and its European allies have been particularly strained by worries that Reagan's simplistic East-West world view would never translate into a coherent

*Not only has SALT been STARTed, but the Administration now refers to Theater Nuclear Forces (TNF) as Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF). One reason: European complaints that their continent was clearly designated as the theater in which a nuclear war would most probably take place.

THE MISSILE TRADE-OFF

foreign policy. Compounding the problem were conflicting statements from Washington on sensitive nuclear policy issues. Hawkishly, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger announced that the U.S. would build a neutron warhead; Secretary of State Alexander Haig immediately noted that no decision had been made to deploy it. Reagan mused aloud to a group of newspaper editors at the White House about a possibility that Western allies dread: a limited nuclear war fought on European territory. Said he: "I could see where you could have the exchange of tactical weapons against troops in the field without its bringing either one of the major powers to pushing the button." Haig set off a demonstration bombshell of his own by announcing that NATO had a contingency plan to fire a warning nuclear "shot across the bow," if needed, to deter a Soviet conventional attack in Europe; Weinberger said he knew of no such policy.

Thatcher and Schmidt praising Reagan's speech

Under pressure from the Europeans, and largely at Haig's urging, the Administration agreed in May to resume INF talks by the end of the year. But Reagan's men had trouble deciding on a bargaining strategy. Weinberger and his Pentagon colleagues tended to favor the zero option. They maintained that it would be the best way to please the Europeans and put the Soviets in a bind. Haig, however, argued that the zero option would both raise false hopes in Europe and hinder serious arms-limitation negotiations with Moscow.

The President approved the zero option as Weinberger was preparing to leave for last month's NATO meeting in Gleneagles. Buried in the communiqué issued by the defense ministers was a clause that "the zero level remains a possible option." A Pentagon team led by Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle drafted a version of the proposal; State Department opposition lessened as it became clear that the volatile new mood in Europe made an attention-grabbing offer more important than staking out a bargaining position that would be credible to the Soviets. Haig, Eagleburger and other State officials successfully argued that the U.S. should remain flexible in its approach and that the President's speech be as conciliatory as possible. Reagan agreed. Ironically, he put the finishing touches on his speech while flying home from a weekend in Texas aboard the "Doomsday Plane," the airborne war room designed for use by top officials in the event of a nuclear attack.

Reagan tried to distinguish his proposal from a similar but ill-fated attempt by his predecessor to offer something novel to the Soviets. In March 1977, Jimmy Carter sent Cyrus Vance to Moscow with an ambitious scheme to redirect the SALT talks by asking the Soviets to make deep cuts in their existing arsenal of intercontinental ballistic missiles. Like Reagan, Carter had outlined his proposals in public before submitting them formally to the Soviets. Also like Reagan, Carter hoped that the Soviets could be persuaded to dismantle existing weaponry in ex-

A New Numbers Game

When U.S. and Soviet negotiating teams meet on Nov. 30 in Geneva to resume arms reduction talks, they will be playing a complex and slippery numbers game. Though its origins are murky, the term "zero option" has been used by different people to describe various schemes for eliminating or reducing intermediate- and medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe. On the face of it, President Reagan's version seems straightforward enough. The President has proposed to cancel the planned deployment of 108 Pershing II and 464 ground-launched cruise missiles. In turn, the Soviets must agree to dismantle some 350 aging SS-4 and SS-5 missiles, plus 250 or more new SS-20 missiles.

But there is more here than meets the eye. First, the Soviet missiles are already in place, while the ones proposed for NATO are still in the testing stage. Second, there is a considerable disparity in the range and potency of the weapons involved. The new U.S. missiles carry only one warhead, as do the SS-4s and SS-5s. But the SS-20s are equipped to carry three warheads. Thus Reagan's proposal really calls for a trade-off of 572 American nuclear warheads for more than 1,000 Soviet ones. In his speech, Reagan claimed that the Soviets had a 6-to-1 nuclear advantage over the U.S. In doing so, he failed to include U.S. forward-based nuclear-equipped aircraft and submarines, or NATO weapons. According to the independent London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies, the Soviet advantage over NATO forces is closer to 3 to 1.

The Soviet concept of a zero option is different. President Leonid Brezhnev has said that if NATO dropped its deployment plans, the U.S.S.R. would "reduce the total" of its missiles; but by how much, he did not say. NATO would not have a single ground-based missile capable of reaching the U.S.S.R. Yet there would be numbers of Soviet missiles within striking distance of Western Europe, just as there are today.

The Soviets marshal their own numbers to show that a rough parity in theater nuclear weapons already exists between NATO and the U.S.S.R. How so? Because Moscow counts "delivery systems" differently. Soviet estimates for NATO include the American submarines and aircraft based in Europe that are capable of carrying nuclear weapons. The Soviets also count British and French bombers and missiles, even though the French are not part of the NATO military structure. According to the Soviet count there are 986 NATO delivery systems. Their own total, they say, is 975. But this does not include all Soviet fighter-bombers and submarines that could deliver nuclear warheads.

There is no doubt why the Soviets are so alarmed by the prospect of new U.S. missiles in Europe. A Pershing II based in West Germany could drop a 20-kiloton warhead within 80 ft. of a target in the Soviet Union some 1,000 miles away just eight minutes after firing. The ground-launched cruise missile, or GLCM, is even more accurate, and able to avoid radar by hugging the terrain, following maps in its internal guidance system.

The Soviet missiles are more of a mixed bag. The clumsy, inaccurate SS-4, first deployed in 1959, has a range of 1,200 miles and a single, one-megaton warhead. The obsolescent SS-5 can throw its megaton warhead some 2,500 miles. But the SS-20, with its 3,000-mile range, is a formidable weapon. Each of its three, separately targetable 150-kiloton warheads is accurate within 100 yds.

The wildly divergent numbers reflect the sharply different interests of the two superpowers. The U.S. wants to redress the imbalance presented by the existing Soviet nuclear arsenal. Moscow fears that the Pershing IIs and cruise missiles will give the U.S. a first-strike capability from Europe. The differences are so deep that the game to be played out in Geneva could end before the first hand is dealt.

change for U.S. promises not to deploy a planned system. In the strongest language, Moscow rejected the Carter-Vance proposals as absurd.

Unlike Reagan, Carter also declared that the U.S. had a fallback position: he remained willing to negotiate SALT II along the lines set out previously by Gerald Ford. Reagan's advisers feel that Carter abandoned his radical initiative too early and undercut himself by having a fallback position already stated. "There is a strong feeling here that we should have stuck to our guns in 1977," says one State policymaker. Thus the Administration refuses to talk about any other options or compromise positions. The instructions that have been given to Paul Nitze, the veteran negotiator who heads the U.S. team, are to "hang tough" when he gets to Geneva.

At the same time, U.S. diplomats point out that the American position is not welded in titanium. They note that Reagan said, "We go to Geneva willing to listen to and consider the proposals of our Soviet counterparts." Defending the Administration's flexibility, one top official observes that "there is nothing to prevent us, in the future, from revising our objectives." For example, the U.S. might be willing to phase in the reductions—or as a senior State Department official puts it, "to reach zero without doing so in one fell swoop."

There are plenty of particulars that will require some fancy footwork by Nitze & Co. If the Soviets do not simply slam the door on negotiations, they are likely to insist that any accounting of weapons in Europe include the French and British nuclear arsenals, as well as such "forward based" nuclear delivery systems as the U.S. F-111 fighter-bombers based in Britain and submarines on patrol in the North Atlantic. Although the U.S. would prefer to see the discussions focus solely on intermediate-range ground missiles such as the Pershing II and SS-20, one top U.S. policymaker admits that "there's no sense dealing exclusively with ground weapons if it leaves other systems unrestrained."

All of these issues will be confronted in Geneva. Up until now, the principal purpose of the public debate over nuclear missiles has been to secure political and propaganda advantages in Europe. Even after the talks begin in earnest, each side will continue to try to score points with the European audience that is caught precariously in the balance. But Reagan's initiative deserves to be taken by the Soviets, as well as by the U.S. and the Europeans, as more than a public relations ploy. If treated seriously by both sides, it could indeed be, as he suggested, a "giant step" toward peace. The dream it embodies, the hope it nourishes, is shared by not only the Western Europeans but by the Soviet and American people as well: to reduce the world's awesome arsenals of nuclear weapons and the frightful tensions they create. —*By Walter Isaacson. Reported by Johanna McGeary and Bruce W. Nelan/Washington*

The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

The Joys of Waging Peace

If we are lucky, the President will become a peace addict. Those who watched the applause sweep over Ronald Reagan after last week's speech on nuclear arms reduction thought they detected a new glint in his eye. He had received a needed fix. Peace is fun. Peace is box office. Peace diverts critics. Peace is good for you.

Most Presidents do not fully understand the exhilaration in waging peace until at last they try it. Take Richard Nixon, who found that playing global diplomat was a fine way for a politician to turn almost magically into a statesman. He got a Viet Nam cease-fire, made friends with mainland China, and signed an arms limitation agreement with the Soviets, all within a year. In a life of fighting one damn thing after another, he never had such a good time.

John Kennedy came to office as a macho warrior. "We shall bear any burden, oppose any foe," he warned Moscow in his Inaugural Address. One night at Hickory Hill Bobby Kennedy summoned a friend into a quiet corner. With his blood rising, he confided that the Cuban exile force would hit the beach at the Bay of Pigs in a few days. Bobby could already hear the bands and taste the glory.

Lessons were learned from the Cuban invasion failure, the Berlin Wall and a meeting with a scornful Nikita Khrushchev in Vienna. Kennedy discovered that both private joy and public acclaim were to be found in working for a nuclear test ban treaty, which was signed with the Soviets in 1963. A few weeks before his death, J.F.K. roamed the country polishing up a speech on the treaty as a pre-1964 campaign maneuver. The folks loved it.

A happy time for Gerald Ford: with Leonid Brezhnev in Vladivostok

There were drama and adventure in Lyndon Johnson's flights through Asia. He was the swashbuckler in khaki, jetting secretly into Viet Nam, summoning his commanders, sending off the bombers, riding silently past the lines of lean young men fresh out of foxholes. But it was a melancholy experience, not at all like the movies. Speeding back to the U.S. after his Viet Nam visit, Johnson was a deeply troubled man. He had found out that war is no fun.

Ask Jerry Ford what he liked best: tramping through the snow with Henry Kissinger in Vladivostok to work out a SALT agreement or sending the Marines after the *Mayaguez?* Ten to one for peace. And Jimmy Carter will never come closer to heaven in this life than when he flew back from Camp David to announce that Menachem Begin and Anwar Sadat had accepted his peace accords.

Reagan knows that true peace in this age must rest on America's economic and military strength, and he is working to shore up both. There has been some careless war talk by the President's men and maybe a little too much saber rattling in the Caribbean and the Middle East. Yet even that has had some beneficial side effects. The President seems to have knocked the Soviets off balance a bit. If the history of the past 25 years tells us anything it is that when the Soviets are a little scared they complain bitterly and constantly in public. Beware a silent bear, as before the Cuban missile crisis or the invasion of Afghanistan.

Reagan appears to the world just a bit mad. That reputation, calculated or not, can serve him well because his proposal for nuclear missile reduction comes as both surprise and relief. The prospect of his anger if the offer is summarily rejected may inspire the Soviets to give the idea more attention than usual.

Get peace going and the ceremonies get dandier, the bands play louder, the crowds get happier and bigger, the champagne flows faster, the Gallups rise higher. That is Ronald Reagan's kind of world.

That's Cutting It Pretty Close

A last-minute budget fight spins the federal wheels

Yes, Virginia, there is still a Government of the U.S. Or at least it looks as if there will be this week. Congress and the President played a political game of chicken through the end of last week over a "continuing resolution" that would renew the Government's legal right to spend money. But chances were that they would agree on a measure enabling the Government to pay its employees, sign contracts, send out benefit checks and perform all of its other functions—at least for the next four months.

Technically, that authority lapsed at midnight last Friday, when an earlier resolution designed to keep the money flowing expired. Bureaucrats tried to figure out just which activities the Government could legally continue without some kind of spending authority from Congress and which ones it would have to shut down. They produced only the most uncertain answers *(see box)*. Chaos threatened

In theory, that is. In practice, everybody assumed that the legislators would produce a resolution, and Ronald Reagan would sign it, before any real disruption occurred. But in Washington doing what everyone knows has to be done can be surpassingly difficult, and never more so than in this case. After a week of gamesmanship, House-Senate conferees were still struggling late Saturday to shape a measure that the President might accept. To get even that far, the Senate earlier had struggled through its first all-night session since 1978; some lawmakers caught naps on cots placed in a nearby conference room. Reagan, for his part, had threatened to cast the first veto of his presidency. He said, with considerable hyperbole, that doing so would "literally . . . shut the Government off," and he frightened enough legislators into believing he meant it that he seemed sure to win some of the spending cuts he desired—though it looked as if Congress might debate through Sunday, and perhaps even into Monday, before enacting them

It should have been a drama of cliff-hanging suspense, a momentous showdown. But, in fact, an air of unreality hung over the legislative exercise. For one thing, the numbers became totally confused; there were loud arguments about how much the various resolutions under debate exceeded Reagan's spending targets.

As far as anyone could determine, the difference between Reagan and his congressional opponents finally came down to around $4 billion, less than 1% of the $415 billion provided by the House version of the continuing resolution.* Exclaimed Representative Richard Gephardt, a Missouri Democrat: "We're fighting over nothing!"

At times, the maneuvering degenerated into low farce. At one point, Senate Democratic Leader Robert Byrd introduced, and persuaded all those Democrats present to vote for, a series of taunting amendments to the continuing resolution. One would have declared the "sense of the Senate" to be that the budget had to be balanced by fiscal 1984, a goal that Reagan had long proclaimed but has now abandoned as unrealistic. That ploy was designed to force Republican Senators to cast embarrassing no votes. The struggle seemed likely to be ended less by any hard-fought compromise of deeply held principles than by a weary desire on the part of both Congress and the President to get out of Washington for a Thanksgiving holiday

Politically, however, the stakes were high. Reagan was out to burnish his public image as a stalwart foe of spendthrift Government. His opponents—this time including not only most of the Democrats but some of the congressional Republicans—sought to escape being labeled "budget busters" though still appearing to defend their constituents against cuts that would hurt the poor and disadvantaged. The outcome looked like a standoff. By the weekend Reagan's phenomenal streak of congressional victories had been broken, and he was prepared to settle for spending cuts well below those he had demanded two months ago. On the other hand, by brandishing his veto power, the President still was about to force larger reductions in social spending than many legislators wanted

After persuading Congress to slash authorized federal spending for fiscal 1982 by $35 billion last July, Reagan in late September asked for more cuts. He urged Congress to trim an additional $13 billion when it actually got around to appropriating the money. But he never really made clear just which activities he wanted to slash. Congress, lacking guidance, passed a stopgap continuing resolution funding the Government from the start of the fiscal year on Oct. 1 until Nov 20, an arbitrarily chosen date, while wrangling inconclusively over the regular appropriations bills

By the start of last week, it was obvious that a second continuing resolution would be needed. It was also clear that Congress would never include in it all the cuts that

Republican Leaders Michel of the House and Baker of the Senate ponder lapse in the Government's authority to spend money

*The resolution does not include spending on "entitlement" programs, such as Social Security, welfare, Medicare and Medicaid. Estimated entitlement outlays would push total federal expenditures in fiscal 1982 to $710 billion compared with the target of $695.3 billion that Reagan set in March

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Deer Park
Unity Utilities Fuel Oil Co., Inc.
1809 Deer Park Avenue

Dix Hills
Alpha Metro Maint. Supply Co.
18 Capri Court

Dobbs Ferry
Adler's Hardware
127 Main Street

East Farmingdale
Joseph Picone & Son, Inc
1637 Broad Hollow Rd (Rt 110)

Elmont
Frank Cerell Co
177 Herald Ave
Katz Hardware
291 Hempstead Tpke

Elmsford
H. Beckley & Sons
258 E. Main St
Mortelliti Supply
12-D W. Main St

East Hampton
Village Hardware
32 Newtown Lane

East Meadow
Central Nassau Rental
392 Newbridge Ave

Farmingdale
Schmidt Hardware Inc
208 Main St

Fishkill
Blue Seal Feeds
Jct. Rt 52 & 82
Natural Heat & Energy Co
Route 52

Floral Park
Tital Oil Company
330 Jericho Turnpike

Florida
Dombrowski Farm Supply
18 Meadow Rd

Freeport
Freeport Equipment
319 W. Sunrise Highway

Garden City Park
Taylor Rental Co.
2208 Jericho Turnpike

Glen Cove
Angs Service Station Inc
73 Cedar Swamp Rd

Goldens Bridge
King Lumber Co
Meadow Street

Goshen
Gor-Duns
Route 17A

Hampton Bays
Kiba Distributing, Inc
P O Box 481, Bittersweet Ave

Harrison
Lauros Lawn & Garden
339 Halstead Ave

Hauppauge
North East Equipment
554 Rt. 111 & Town Line Rd.

Hempstead
Hempstead Outdoor Store
5 N. Franklin St

Hicksville
Air-Ez Lamps
Nassau Farmers Market
Green Crest Enterprises
5 Bethpage Road

Hopewell Junction
Appleridge Farm
[illegible] Road

Hudson
Columbia Auto Parts
701 Union St

Huntington
Village Grinding
139 New York Ave

Huntington Station
Sherwoods
19 Walt Whitman Road
Tire Supply Corp
630 E. Jericho Turnpike

Islip
Islip Hardware
445 Main Street

Katonah
Kellogs & Lawrence
26-30 Parkway

Kings Park
Kings Park Lawn & Garden Ctr
Route 25A

Kingston
Adams Farracre Farms
Route 9W No.
Britts Dept. Store
Kingston Plaza

Lake Ronkonkoma
True Value Hardware
337 Smithtown Blvd

Lindenhurst
Good Day Dist.
10 W. Sunrise Hwy

Long Island City
M & B Equipment, Inc
34-23 31st Street

Mahopac
Energy Savers Warehouse
Route 6
Red Mills Distributors
Route 6

Massapequa
Air-Ez Heaters & Lamps
602 Broadway
Green Bros. Home & Garden
5500 Merrick Road
Howards TV & Appliance
4270 Sunrise Highway

Mastic Beach
Towne Hardware
343 Neighborhood Road

Merrick
Merrick Home & Garden Ltd
319 Merrick Avenue

Middle Island
Ben's Hardware
Route 25

Middletown
Chimney Sweep
Shaw Road

Millbrook
Claude Abel & Son
Route 82

Miller Place
Wood Stove Plus
953 Route 25A

Mineola
Mineola Bicycle & Mower
475 Jericho Tpke

Monroe
Monroe Lumber & Bldg Supply
125 Elm St
Ross Lumber, Inc
37 Lake St

Montauk
East End C.B. Inc
Dorset Drive
Montauk Marine Basin Inc.
West Lake Drive

Montrose
Van Etten Oil Co
St. John St

Mount Kisco
D & D Mower
260 Main Street
Mt. Kisco Auto Parts, Inc
96 Lexington Avenue
Trotta Enterprises
Crow Hill Road

Mt. Vernon
Hanna Service
681 E. Lincoln Ave

Nanuet
All Energy Supplies, Inc
233 West Route 59

New Rochelle
Charles Librett Hardware
370 Main St
Lustra-Glass
94 Hudson Park Rd

North Tarrytown
Ross Hardware
32-34 Beekman Ave

Oceanside
Rockville Center Plumbing Supply
2421 S. Long Beach Road

Ossining
Ossining Lawn Mower
25 Campwood Rd

Oyster Bay
Swift Cycles Ltd
294 South St

Patchogue
Carl's Equipment Supply
283 Medford Ave
Lopers Rental
129 Route 112

Pawling
Unique Energy Service
Route 22

Peekskill
Eastern Oil Co
948 Washington St
Michael DeMaria's Corner Store
1782 Crompond Rd

Pine Bush
Paris Petroleum Prod
Main Street

Pine Plains
Deuel's Home Center
Route 82

Plainview
S & S Kerosene Stoves
19 Audley Circle

Pleasantville
Woodland Stove Shoppe
486 Bedford Rd

Port Jefferson Station
North Shore Power Equipment
70 Jayne Blvd

Port Jervis
Stanley Plastics
23 Franklin Street

Port Washington
Precision Work
104A Harbor Rd

Poughkeepsie
Adams Farracre Farms
Route 44
Red Oaks Mill Hardware
19 Vassar Road
Windsor Bldg. & Supply
North Road

Pound Ridge
Chubby's, Inc.
Westchester Ave

Rhinebeck
Rhinebeck Hardware
47 East Market

Riverhead
Carl's Equipment Supply, Inc.
1849 Old Country Road
Palm Gas
Route 58

Rockville Center
Grabau's
456 Sunrise Highway

Rocky Point
Mobile Mower
361 Rt. 25A
Thurber Lumber Co
Box 996, Broadway

Sag Harbor
Emporium Hardware
Main Street

Saugerties
Lamb's Hardware
31 Market St

Sayville
D.C. Heaters-Weeks Fuel
35 Overton St

Scarsdale
Lockwood-The Home Center
428 Central Ave

Seaford
Midlawn Hardware
1053 Hicksville Road

Shirley
J & S Sales
136 Mystic Blvd

Smithtown
David Brown True Value Hardware
220 W Main St
Simer Distributors
32 Winslow Lane

Somers
Johnson's Motorcycles
Route 202, Jct. 100

Southampton
Tuckahoe Hardware
849 North Highway

Southold
Southold Stove Work
County Road 27A

Sparkill
County Wood Stoves
Main Street

Spring Valley
Trutta Supply
787 S. Main Street

Stanfordville
Roger C. Beckwith
Stissing Road

Stony Brook
The Kerosene Heater Shop
Route 25A, Corner Quaker Path

Terrytown
Tarrytown Appliance
10 N. Broadway

Vallegate
Windsor Bldg. & Supply
Route 32

Valley Stream
Central Hardware
31 North Central Ave
Laco Service
107 E. Lincoln Ave

Wales
R S. Slater Power Equip
303 E. Main

Wappingers Falls
Urey Hardware
Route 9

West Babylon
Park Ave. Fuel Oil Inc.
55 Evergreen St
True Value Hardware
665 Farmingdale Road
Union Hardware & Supply
560 Union Blvd

Westbury
Airnav Inc
129 Post Avenue

Westhampton Beach
Raynor-Mitchell Marine
401 Montauk Highway

White Plains
Central Mowers, Inc
475 Central Ave
R. Argento & Son
1 Prospect Ave

Wyandanch
Wyandanch Machine
370 Long Island Ave.

Yaphank
Four Seasons Landscape and Nursery
152 Lincoln Road
Mill and Lincoln Roads

Yonkers
Bedford Appliance
1173 Yonkers Ave
Lockwood Lumber
382 Saw Mill River Rd
Rainbow Fuel & Service Inc.
167 North Broadway

Yorktown Heights
Midway Hardware
3394 Crompound Rd

KERO-SUN

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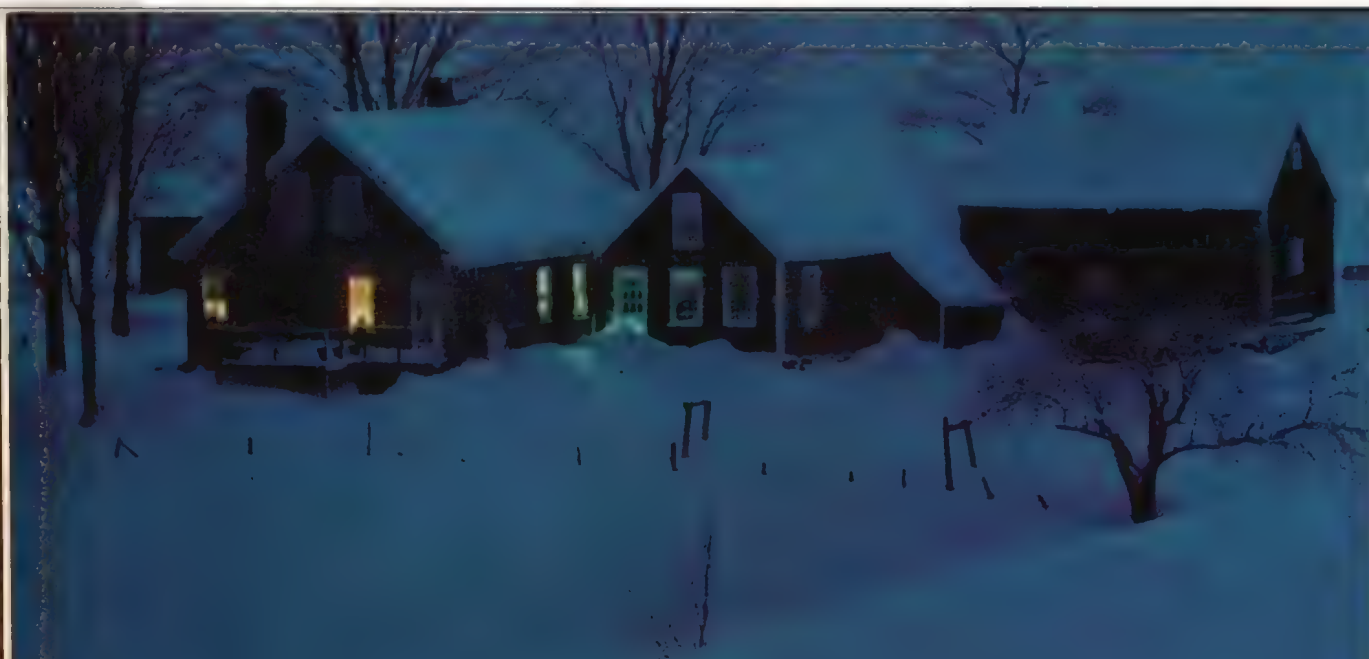
The Director™ Radiant 36™ Radiant 10™ Radiant 8™ Moonlighter™ Omni 105™ Omni 85™ Omni 15™



SHE: "Looks like we're snowed in."
HE: "Maybe the rest of the world is just snowed out."

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Reagan wanted. So the President on Tuesday sent a letter to Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker offering "to meet the Congress halfway" but clearly threatening a veto if the legislators refused to go at least that far. House Republican Leader Robert Michel of Illinois had already introduced a proposal that would have reduced social spending about $4 billion and defense outlays $2 billion.

The House voted down that bid 201 to 189, and passed, 195 to 187, a continuing resolution that the President's aides calculated would mean spending $8 billion more than Reagan wanted. It was the President's first significant congressional defeat, and it came about because the once solid Republican lines in the House broke. Eighteen Republicans from the Northeast and Midwest, part of a group that has nicknamed itself the Gypsy Moths, voted against the President because they feared further reductions in social services that their constituents value.

At the same time, the House vote was far short of the two-thirds necessary to override a veto, and Congressmen took the threat of a veto as no bluff. Said Senate Budget Committee Chairman Pete Domenici of New Mexico: "Reagan wants the Congress and the country to know he is serious about budget cutting." Within the White House, there were some qualms that a veto might make Reagan look like a wild man willing to produce governmental chaos if he did not get his way. Said one aide: "People might ask, 'What kind of guy is he? How far is he willing to go?' " But at a Cabinet meeting Thursday, most of the participants agreed that, having threatened a veto, the President could not afford to back down. Anyway, the chance to dramatize a struggle to hold down spending and deficits outweighed the risks.

By then, the struggle had shifted to the Senate. The debate droned on for two days while Majority Leader Baker on Thursday afternoon and evening huddled with both Republican and Democratic leaders off the floor. Eventually, he produced a compromise leaving defense outlays for the moment untouched and cutting civilian spending $3.3 billion, with a long string of exceptions: veterans' benefits, student loans and a child nutrition program, among other examples. A resolution embodying those proposals passed at 6:50 a.m. Friday. Exhausted leaders later Friday proceeded to a conference with their House counterparts that did not begin until 6:50 p.m. and was still in session late Saturday.

Even a presidential signature on a resolution will not end the battle. The Senate version of the continuing resolution runs only until March 30. The spending totals specified in the resolution are temporary and are supposed to be superseded by those in the 13 regular appropriations bills. So far, however, Congress has enacted only two very minor ones.

A third appropriations bill, for defense spending, is in good shape. The House last

Senate Budget Committee's Domenici

week voted by wide margins to include all the money that Reagan had asked for MX missiles and B-1 bombers. That cleared the way for quick passage of a $197.4 billion appropriation—$3.4 billion below Reagan's request, but $26 billion more than 1981. Other appropriations bills, however, are nowhere near enactment.

Moreover, Reagan has put off the really tough budget decisions. What taxes should be increased, if any? What cuts should be recommended in entitlement programs other than Social Security to prevent staggering deficits in the next few years? The Administration will decide those questions in January, probably under the shadow of a deepening recession.

Economic statistics last week etched dark portents. Housing starts dropped to the second lowest level on record. Personal income showed only a small rise, and consumer spending dropped. Murray Weidenbaum, Reagan's chief economic adviser, put on the record a prediction that unemployment might rise early next year to 9%, equaling the highest figure since 1941.

The recession will endlessly complicate the budget debate. How far is it safe to reduce spending in a slumping economy? On the other hand, is it possible to avoid gargantuan deficits that might reignite inflation whenever an upswing comes? Moreover, the entitlement programs that Reagan might reduce have large and vehemently vocal constituencies. To use a metaphor that Reagan might appreciate, the blood spilled in last week's battle was mostly special-effects catsup. The struggle beginning in January might well bring genuine gore. *—By George J. Church. Reported by Neil MacNeil and Evan Thomas/Washington*

Stop That Check—Uncle's Broke!

It was beyond a libertarian's wildest hopes for minimal government. As Congress and President Reagan wrangled over the budget last week, many federal agencies faced the prospect of halting or curtailing their activities because after midnight Friday, they would no longer have the right to spend money. The major and imprecisely defined exception, according to the Anti-Deficiency Act of 1870: "Emergency [activities] involving the safety of human life or the protection of property." As interpreted by the White House, that would include the armed forces, diplomacy, veterans' hospitals and the air-traffic control system. Social Security payments would continue because they are funded apart from the annual budget.

The Administration was in disarray over what would face suspension. Likely candidates: federal disability payments, food stamps (as of Dec. 1, when the latest monthly allotment runs out), most government research and regulatory programs. As many as 400,000 federal employees could be laid off immediately.

So close a brush with chaos seems incomprehensible, but for parts of two days last year, on Oct. 1, and again on Dec. 16, the Government was nominally shut down. Congressional leaders have long maintained that such confrontations are needless: day-to-day functions should go on, they argue, because there is plainly no "legislative intent" to abolish Government.

But President Carter's Attorney General, Benjamin Civiletti, then insisted on a stricter interpretation of the law, which forbids unauthorized expenditures. While Civiletti's "opinion" did not legally bind Reagan, the President took it seriously enough to have his Office of Management and Budget draft contingency plans. So, apparently, did Congress. Well in advance of the deadline, it authorized one branch of Government to continue functioning, and with a spending increase: itself.

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If you can take a bad picture with a snapshot camera, you can take a great picture with the Nikon EM.

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The other good thing about the Nikon EM is that as you grow as a photographer, the camera will grow with you. Because Nikon offers the world's largest selection of lenses and accessories.

The Nikon EM, naturally, costs more than a snapshot camera. But it also costs a lot less than you probably think.

So which is it going to be? Snapshots? Or great pictures?

Nikon

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All in the Family, for Now

Allen and Stockman struggle to hang on to their jobs

"This is not an Administration that is unraveling." So insisted White House Communications Director David Gergen last week, trying to dispel a sprouting impression in Washington that what he was denying might well be true. But if not unraveled, the White House was at least beleaguered. Just as the Administration was stamping out the flames from Budget Director David Stockman's disparaging comments on Reaganomics in the *Atlantic Monthly*, it found itself plagued by a scandal of much greater dimensions. The problem seemed at first to be a penny-ante one: National Security Adviser Richard Allen's acceptance of a $1,000 honorarium from a Japanese magazine for an interview with Nancy Reagan. But the White House got caught in a tangle of confusing and inaccurate statements as it tried to explain away the incident. Far more than Stockman's indiscretions, the affair raised serious questions both about White House credibility and possible conflict-of-interest charges against Allen.

Allen's trouble began last January, when he was approached by Chizuko Takase. The wife of Allen's longtime Japanese friend, Business Consultant Tamotsu Takase, she asked him to set up an interview with Nancy Reagan for a Japanese women's magazine, *Shufu-no-Tomo* (Housewives' Friend). He agreed, and on Jan. 21 a reporter and an editor, along with Allen and Mrs. Takase, met with the First Lady for about 15 minutes in the White House. The group mostly exchanged pleasantries, since nearly all the questions had been submitted beforehand and answers were provided after the interview. After the meeting, according to Reporter Fuyuko Kamisaka, Mrs. Takase handed Allen a brown envelope containing $1,000 in cash.

The gift, according to the magazine's executive editor, was meant for Mrs. Reagan. In her article, published last March, Kamisaka said she had been told the money would be given to charity. But Allen instead placed the money in a safe in his office in the Old Executive Office Building; he now says that he accepted the money to avoid offending his visitors, since he believed it was common practice for Japanese journalists to pay honorariums for interviews. Allen also insisted that he intended to turn over the money to the Treasury Department but simply forgot. A few weeks after the interview, he moved out of that office and into the White House, leaving the safe behind.

There the money stayed until one day in early September, when a staff member of the Office of Policy Development discovered the cash. That evening, the staffer notified White House Counsellor Edwin Meese; next day Meese told other senior White House aides and Reagan himself about the money. Meese decided that the Justice Department should conduct an investigation, and asked Attorney General William French Smith to look into the matter. Allen only learned about the inquiry when agents from the FBI questioned him about the money in the safe.

The Security Adviser strolls to his office

Japanese magazine's portrait of Nancy

Credibility trouble for the White House.

The cash gift was made public two weeks ago, when a Tokyo newspaper disclosed that Japanese police, at the request of the FBI, had completed their own inquiry into the affair. Next came a series of contradictory statements from the White House that elevated what might have been a minor flap into a major embarrassment. The White House first announced that the FBI had finished its investigation; the Justice Department promptly denied that the inquiry had been completed. Then Allen claimed he had not set up the interview; the next day he admitted that the magazine's initial request had in fact come to him. But he steadfastly denied ever asking for an honorarium. The White House claimed that Reagan only learned about the payment two weeks ago; Meese had failed to tell Gergen that he had informed Reagan last September, and the red-faced spokesman had to correct the record. And only after a Japanese newspaper reported it did the White House acknowledge that Mrs. Reagan had accepted a black lacquered stationery box, valued at $75, from the Japanese visitors. As required by law, the gift had been placed in Government archives.

Faced with a yawning credibility gap, White House aides agreed not to comment further on the case until the investigation was finished. But last Wednesday, as he was taking part in a Rose Garden ceremony, Reagan was asked if he had indeed known about the cash since September. To the dismay of his aides, Reagan casually replied, "Yes, and then it was investigated, and it was reported that everything was fine." Everything was fine? How did Reagan know that, if the FBI was still conducting its inquiry? It turned out that Meese had called Attorney General Smith on Nov. 6 to ask about the progress on the case. Smith in turn asked FBI Director William Webster to call Meese, and Webster told the White House aide that there was no reason to suspend or fire Allen. Meese passed that information along to Reagan. The exchange showed questionable judgment on Meese's part, since a call from the White House on such a sensitive matter could risk prejudicing the investigation.

Justice Department officials have already recommended that the investigation of Allen be closed and no special prosecutor be appointed, since the FBI uncovered no evidence that Allen intended to keep the money for his own use. Nevertheless, in an attempt to leave "no stone unturned," as one department official put it, FBI agents were ordered last week to interview more witnesses. Questions do still remain. Reporter Kamisaka, for example, has told TIME that the honorarium was arranged by Allen, the Takases, and the magazine; it was her impression that its editors had agreed to cancel the interview if the amount requested was too much. At week's end, allegations surfaced about yet another gift: Kamisaka bought two Seiko Quartz digital watches, costing about $135 each, and gave them to Mrs. Takase to present to

Allen and his wife. After explaining himself to senior Reagan aides Saturday morning, Allen issued a statement acknowledging that he had accepted the watches. But he insisted that they were gifts from personal friends before the Inauguration, and therefore legal and appropriate.

The flap has focused attention on Allen's past ties with Tamotsu Takase. In October 1980, Allen was forced to resign as a campaign adviser to Reagan. Reason: charges made by the *Wall Street Journal* that Allen, while serving as a member of the President's Commission on International Trade and Investment Policy in 1970, had leaked confidential decisions to Takase, who has a reputation in Japan as a political operator. Allen was reinstated after the election when Reagan's advisers cleared him of the accusations.

The White House had to make still another awkward admission last week: Allen, a former consultant to Nissan Motor Corp., which manufactures Datsun automobiles, had met with Takase and the president of Toyota Motor Sales last March at a time when the Administration was deciding whether to seek lower import quotas for Japanese cars. The next day Allen attended a meeting with Reagan and Japan's Foreign Minister, Masayoshi Ito, to discuss import quotas. Worried about a possible conflict of interest, White House officials asked Allen to review his records for past contacts with Japanese businessmen.

OMB chief

Reagan is furious that his wife's name has been dragged into the controversy. "Nancy is horrified," said one intimate. "It's a bad dream for her." Some staffers are especially nettled since Allen, unlike Stockman, is not considered central to the making of policy; they believe that, even if Allen is cleared, the incident gives them the chance to jettison him on grounds of bad judgment. Said one top official: "Allen presents an opportunity. David presents a problem."

The "problem," meanwhile, was working at his usual feverish pace last week. Badly shaken and somewhat moody in the days following his "woodshed" session with Reagan two weeks ago, Stockman is now committed to salvaging his credibility—and his job. Ignoring the advice of aides, he is embarking this week on a four-day swing through the Midwest and West to speak at fund raisers for G.O.P. Congressmen. "If the President has suffered from Dave's indiscretions, and Dave thinks he has, then he's determined to make it up to him, one Congressman at a time," said an Administration insider.

If Stockman stays in his job, it may be thanks to Allen, whose problems have pushed the OMB Director's woes off the front pages. As one White House adviser who favors axing Allen put it: "I think we can make our point by only one head rolling." —*By James Kelly. Reported by Douglas Brew/Washington and S. Chang/Tokyo*

Ousted Commission Chairman Flemming

Firing a Fighter

A setback for civil rights?

His credentials are impeccable, his party loyalties unassailable. A lifelong Republican, Arthur S. Flemming, 76, was appointed Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare in 1958 by Dwight Eisenhower. In 1974 Richard Nixon named him chairman of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, a bipartisan advisory committee whose purpose is to monitor enforcement of civil rights laws. Flemming turned out to be an especially unflinching warrior in the struggle for civil rights. In recent months, after having concluded that Reagan and company lacked commitment to the cause, he began attacking the Administration. Last week he found himself out of a job. Nominated as his successor: Clarence M. Pendleton Jr., 51, a black Republican, president of the Urban League of San Diego and a friend of White House Counsellor Edwin Meese III.

The White House also dismissed another member of the six-person commission, Stephen Horn, president of California State University at Long Beach and a moderate Republican. He was replaced by Mary Louise Smith, former chairwoman of the Republican National Committee. The removal of Flemming and Horn marks only the second time in the commission's 24-year history that a President has fired members.* Black leaders across the U.S. promptly blasted the move as a threat to the committee's tradition of outspoken independence. "Arthur Flemming was dismissed for doing his job too well," charged Democratic Congressman Harold Washington of Illinois. Alluding to the body's lack of enforcement power, National Urban Coalition President M. Carl Holman said, "I don't see how you gain anything, even symbolically, doing something like this." Yet other black leaders interpret the firings as all too symbolic of the Administration's retreat on such civil rights issues as school integration, affirmative action and the 1965 Voting Rights Act, which Reagan has criticized as overly broad. "What the Administration is trying to do," says Althea Simmons, Washington lobbyist for the N.A.A.C.P., "is not just put civil rights on the back burner, but take it off the stove completely."

*President Nixon asked for and received the resignation of the Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, president of the University of Notre Dame, as chairman in 1972 because he supported school busing to attain racial integration.

The firings came after the White House nominated William Bell, president of a Detroit minority recruiting firm, to head the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Critics charge that Bell, a conservative black Republican who worked for the Reagan-Bush ticket in last year's presidential campaign, is unqualified. Says Washington: "The President's need to have his political cronies run the Government evidently supersedes the need to have agencies that respond to the needs of the American people."

The man chosen to succeed Flemming is a onetime swimming coach at Howard University in Washington, D.C., who ran the Model Cities program in San Diego from 1972 to 1975 before becoming head of the local chapter of the National Urban League. Pendleton campaigned for Reagan last year, and though he promises to try to block any effort to soften the Voting Rights Act, he shares Reagan's opposition to busing and affirmative action—policies staunchly supported by the commission.

Pendleton claims that under his leadership the San Diego Urban League has created some 8,000 new jobs, arranged $24 million in business loans and boosted the chapter's land holdings from $218,000 to $3 million. Yet local blacks charge that Pendleton has ignored the league's traditional work in the social-service areas of education, housing and legal aid. Counters Pendleton: "The best social program I know of is a job."

Pendleton

The White House strongly defended its selection of Pendleton. Though Deputy White House Press Secretary Larry Speakes praised Flemming as a "distinguished public servant," he added that the President simply wanted "his own appointee in the post." Some civil rights leaders admit that though they may differ with Pendleton's conservative views, he is a proven administrator capable of running the agency. Nonetheless, some of Pendleton's new colleagues, three of them Democrats, are uneasy. "Most of us assume that we will be fired too," says one present commissioner. "To have an Administration tamper with the makeup of the commission after all these years is disturbing." ■

Fake Passports

Fraud soars, enforcement lags

After Drug Enforcement Administration agents nabbed a Chilean cocaine smuggler in Beverly Hills, Calif., they found in his bank safety deposit box only one item, a fraudulent U.S. passport. The phony passport and the forged visa have become standard equipment for drug traffickers, illegal aliens and others seeking a sure if shadowy passage abroad. A 1976 Justice Department report estimated that 80% of all hard drugs flowing into the U.S. were smuggled in with the aid of fraudulent passports. Today as many as 300,000 fugitives and terrorists use bogus identity papers, including U.S. passports and visas, to travel freely around the world. Says one DEA agent: "I can't think of a major investigation involving hashish, heroin, cocaine or marijuana smuggling in the past five years that hasn't involved passport fraud or false drivers' licenses."

Of the 3 million U.S. passport applications received yearly, federal officials estimate that 30,000 to 60,000 are fraudulent—and that only the most obvious ones, about 1,000, are detected. The State Department's office of security has responsibility for pursuing passport and visa fraud, but its agents complain that their own superiors have handcuffed them. Says one agent: "The integrity of the passport system has gone down the drain."

The problem, say department security agents, is that they spend less time enforcing passport laws than tending to their other duties, which include providing protection for State Department officials and visiting dignitaries and investigating colleagues for security clearances. As a result, the department's 450 security agents investigate only about 200 of the 1,000 or so fraud cases detected annually. The rest are farmed out to other investigative agencies—FBI, DEA, Customs Service—or not investigated at all. Thus a potentially effective law enforcement weapon is left half-cocked. Says one State Department agent: "In every case I've done in years, the guy was involved in something other than just a passport violation."

State Department officials counter that trying to verify the authenticity of the 3 million passport applications made every year would be prohibitively expensive. The officials concede they put more emphasis on the security agents' other duties, but they defend that practice. "Do you provide protection to the ambassador in Beirut, who has been attacked twice, or do you do more passport investigations?" asks Marvin Garrett, acting deputy assistant secretary for security. "We have to have priorities here."

Many critics of the U.S. passport system say the document itself is too easy to obtain. A criminal typically combs newspaper obituary columns for a suitable death and writes to the deceased's home town for a copy of the birth certificate, the most useful document required to get a passport. Some thieves steal valid passports from unwary travelers. Others bribe U.S. consular employees to issue visas, which citizens of all foreign countries except Canada need to enter the U.S.

Some agents say consular personnel have made a million-dollar business out of the illegal sale of U.S. visas—and are getting away with it, largely because State Department higher-ups are terrified of a scandal. In rebuttal, State Department officials insist that they are investigating 40 to 50 cases of suspected visa malfeasance, though only two employees have been prosecuted in the past four years.

Passports could be made harder to obtain—by instituting fingerprint identification or designing passports that could be matched with prints on birth certificates. Other answers to the fraud problem, say State Department agents, include giving some other agency responsibility for security-clearance checks. The agents also want the power to make arrests. At present they have to bring along another law enforcement officer whenever they finally catch up with a violator.

One of the restrictions State Department security agents resent most is a rule against carrying firearms on fraud investigations. "When you whip out that badge, it looks like any other badge," gripes an agent. "There's nothing on it that says we're not carrying guns and we're harmless. You really don't know who you're going to find. It could be John Dillinger." The agents regard the restriction as sure evidence of the State Department's snobbish disdain for cops. When the question of allowing the agents to be armed came up a few years ago, a State Department official objected indignantly that gun toting "is abhorrent to the tradition and constitution of the State Department." ■

California woman taking oath for a passport

A sprawling system unable to police itself.

Death Attempt

Hinckley survives a suicide try

This time, John Hinckley was resolved that a death would occur. He had failed to kill President Reagan on a Washington sidewalk last March, and he had failed to kill himself two months later, in a North Carolina prison, by taking an overdose of painkillers. In the stockade at Fort Meade, Md., last week, Hinckley jammed the lock to his cell with a piece of cracker-box cardboard. Then he stood on a chair, knotted one sleeve of an Army field jacket around his neck and the other to an iron window bar and, as U.S. marshals shouted at him and struggled vainly to open the door, stepped off the chair. Hinckley, 26, hung for several minutes before a frantic marshal could climb an exterior wall and reach through a window to cut him loose from outside. For the next half-hour Hinckley lay on his cell floor, blue-faced and convulsive for lack of oxygen, before firemen using a hydraulic bolt cutter could get through the cell's bars. Again the loser had been unsuccessful: two days later Hinckley was in satisfactory condition in the base hospital, watching TV. But the possibility that he had suffered brain damage was not ruled out. Says a Justice Department spokesman: "It is too soon to assess if his mental abilities will be affected."

According to Hinckley's parents, the suicide attempt was no surprise: they say they had warned federal authorities two days earlier that their son urgently needed counseling. Said an angry John Hinckley Sr.: "They told me it wasn't necessary, that it could wait. He has been constantly interrogated for seven months. Anyone would be desperate after going through all that." Replied a Justice official: "He is getting adequate [psychiatric] treatment."

Hinckley

By coincidence, two days after the suicide attempt, a federal district court ruled in favor of two Hinckley defense motions. Judge Barrington Parker said that the suspect's Constitutional rights were twice violated by the Government: first, just after his arrest, when federal officials continued questioning him even after Hinckley asked for a lawyer, and again in July, when guards seized Hinckley's diaries from his cell. The illegally obtained evidence, Parker ruled, cannot be used to prove Hinckley guilty of the March shooting, the particulars of which the defense has already admitted. But Parker left unclear whether he would allow the evidence to be used to buttress the prosecution's contention that Hinckley was sane at the time of the shooting. His trial is scheduled to begin Jan. 4. ■

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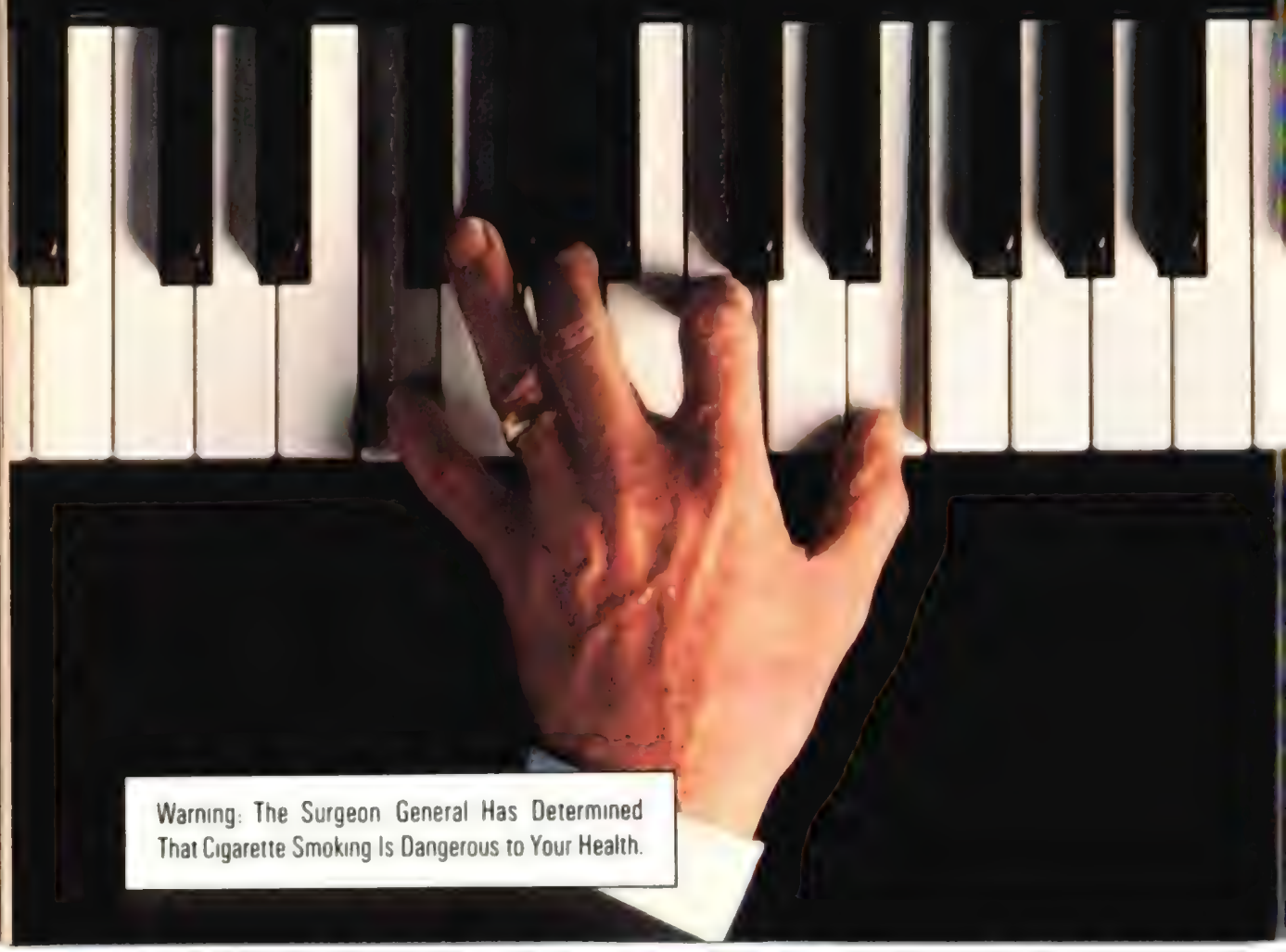

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Dusk falls on the Big D

Sunset over the Bigger H

The Best Little Rivalry in Texas

As gritty Houston booms, urbane Dallas booms back

To folks in Dallas, Houston is a loud, boorish, blue-collar place, overwhelmed by nouveau riche high rollers and overrun with Cadillacs and pickup trucks. To folks in Houston, Dallas is a dull, snobbish, white-collar town, dominated by banking and defense interests, and overrun with Rolls-Royces and Mercedes.

Dallas (pop. 905,000) and Houston (pop. 1,594,000), Texas' largest cities, are separated by 240 miles of small towns and open spaces. They are also separated by one of the most enduring municipal rivalries since Athens slandered Sparta. "Houston," says Dallas Mayor Jack Evans of the grittier rival city, "doesn't wear well." Besides, add Dallas chauvinists, Houstonians are the ugly Americans of Texas. Dallasites, responds Houston *Post* Columnist Lynn Ashby, "are the Swiss of Texas." What is more, says Houston Businessman Lan Bentsen, Dallas residents "have no sense of humor."

The rivalry intensified in the 1970s as an oil-industry boom lifted Houston to new peaks of wealth and power—and new acts of brazenness—while Dallas, long the more prosperous of the two cities, watched with chagrin. Today Dallas is on the rise again, but Houston is not exactly somnolent. In a move that has made Dallas aghast, a group of Houston boosters is offering college football's Southwest Conference $3 million in cash to lure the postseason Cotton Bowl game from Dallas, where it has been played for the past 45 years. "They have more chance of moving the stadium than they do the game," declares John F. Scovell, president of the Cotton Bowl Athletic Association and a prominent Dallas real estate developer. Says Bentsen, who organized the theft attempt: "If it's a feud, it's a positive one."

A onetime cotton depot, Houston was the nation's fastest-growing major metropolitan area in the past decade. Population is up 70% since 1960, and since 1975 the city has led the nation in residential construction. Space for the sprawl is no problem because miles of prairie scrubland lie in three directions, and towns along the way are simply annexed. Nor does government interfere: Houston has no zoning laws. Dallas, however, is hemmed in by suburbs that resist annexation, and the city's urban planners have carefully guided expansion. Admits Dallas Developer Scovell: "Sure, we were jealous of Houston's growth. Anyone who tells you different is a liar."

Houston's helter-skelter development has a troublesome side. Traffic is becoming a round-the-clock snarl, and 1,000 more cars and trucks drive onto the city's potholed roads every week. Houston has badly mismanaged its water supply. Flooding is routine. Parts of the city, built over increasingly depleted underground water, have sunk as much as a foot since 1973. Concedes James Ketelsen, chairman of Houston-based Tenneco Corp.: "Houston lacks the forward planning and leadership to keep up with services. It's obvious the city hasn't kept pace with growth." The city may have learned its lesson. Last week voters overwhelmingly elected Kathryn Whitmire, 35, the city controller, as mayor. Whitmire promises a prudent, businesslike approach to "the problems that have arisen from the wealth we have."

Dallas, in contrast, has always been justly proud of its municipal competence. Politics in both cities are dominated by local business oligarchies, but the businessmen who run Dallas do it better. That former trading post's relatively orderly development could give it the long-term economic edge over Houston. "Dallas will probably be stronger," says Trammell Crow, a real estate mogul with stakes in both cities. "There's no reason to relocate in Houston unless you have to."

Many Texans are willing to call it a draw. "Dallas was bigger first," says Houston Department Store Owner Robert Sakowitz. "Then Houston caught up. Now neither is in the other's shadow." Still, neither town seems able, or willing, to stop one-upping the other. Houston has a 44-acre Galleria complex of stores and offices, but Dallas will shortly have its own Galleria, one acre smaller and built by the same developer. Dallas has a gorgeous new city hall designed by I.M. Pei; Houston has the nearly complete 75-story Texas Commerce Tower, also designed by Pei, which will be the Southwest's tallest building. Houston has one-third more office space under construction than Dallas, but Dallas has the gargantuan eight-year-old Dallas–Ft. Worth Airport. Not to be outdone, Houston last month doubled the capacity of its Intercontinental Airport. In Houston, patrons of the nationally respected Grand Opera are raising $65 million for a new theater. The mandarins of Dallas are planning a downtown arts district that will include a new symphony hall and a museum.

To the outside world, such competitiveness might seem a bit petty. After all, Dallas and Houston are both rich and flourishing, with low unemployment rates (under 5%). And the two cities compete less with each other for capital investment and prestige than they do with the nation's other cities. Above all, Dallasites and Houstonians have something of abiding importance in common. As Columnist Ashby says of the two rivals, "Their family name is still Texas." —*By Kurt Andersen. Reported by Sam Allis/Dallas and Houston*

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COVER STORIES

Disarming Threat To Stability

Nuclear foes would change the course of Europe

It began quietly in 1979, almost as an echo from a bygone generation. Pastors delivered sermons on the virtues of peace. Antiwar groups, some with their roots in the '50s, passed out petitions and organized small demonstrations. Communist parties drummed up predictable anti-NATO sentiment. But gradually, as anger and fear began to take hold, the movement reached beyond its traditional constituencies, taking on a dimension that surprised even its organizers. Finally, this autumn it reached a crescendo. More than 2 million Western Europeans have demonstrated so far in the streets of the Continent's major cities—and weekend after weekend the huge parades go on.

It is an astonishing display of concern. The protesters are primarily young, but older people join in as well, swelling the ranks from curb to curb, wall-to-wall humanity stretching as far as the eye can see. Some of the demonstrators wear elaborate costumes, macabre bursts of imagination that pantomime the approach of death. Others carry posters and papier-mâché displays, an explosion of street art mocking the U.S., tearing with outrageous simplicity at the fabric of mutual interest that the U.S. and Western Europe have woven so patiently for 30 years. The signs vilify: "We are not America's Guinea Pigs." "Today's Children are Tomorrow's Dead." "Reagan Your Bomb will not be our Tomb." The chants taunt: "We don't want to fight Reagan's War." "No Euroshima."

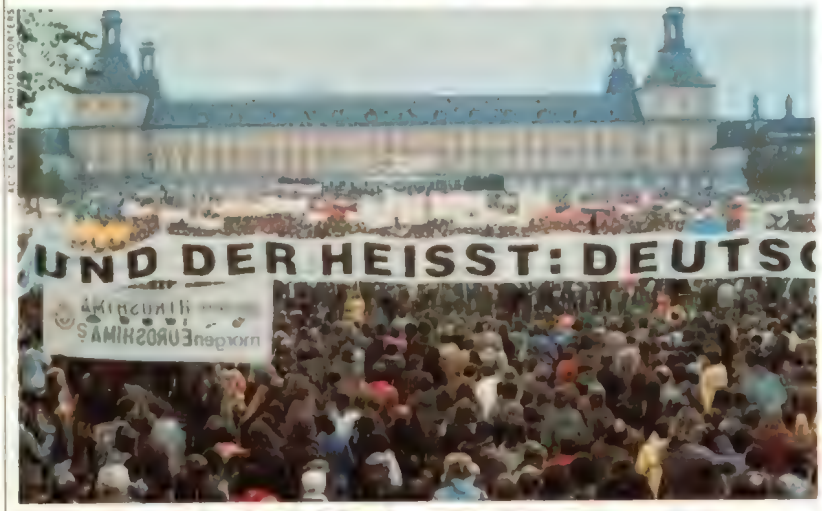
The demonstrations are mounted by a heterogeneous, loosely linked but powerful coalition that has become a formidable political force in Britain, West Germany, Italy, Belgium and The Netherlands. It threatens, if unchecked, to make NATO a useless concept, to strain beyond tolerance the deep but subtle ties that link America with the continent it has twice fought to defend in this bloody century, and to imperil the very ability of the West to stand, free and united, against the encroachments and designs of the Soviet Union.

The immediate goal of the "peace" movement is to reverse a 1979 NATO decision to deploy a new generation of U.S.-built nuclear missiles in Western Europe starting in late 1983. But some of the movement's leaders are already arguing that the campaign should not cease until nuclear weapons are banned from the entire Continent, a condition that would leave the Western European countries vulnerable to the overwhelming preponderance of the Soviet Union in conventional arms. The driving force of the movement is a feeling that Europeans have lost control of their future, that they could be incinerated in a war between the superpowers. In West Germany, the starkest of the protest slogans hits closest to the gut of the matter: *ICH HABE ANGST* (I am afraid). It is a feeling being articulated across Europe by a frightened young generation, and by its elders too.

Thousands marching in Bonn to protest against nuclear weapons

Against this seething background, the ill-timed and almost casual comments of President Ronald Reagan, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and Secretary of State Alexander Haig about how NATO would use nuclear weapons in Europe, about how a "limited" nuclear war could be fought, were incendiary. Even though the remarks were only restatements of long-held alliance doctrine, they served to persuade more and more Europeans to view the U.S. as a menace to their survival, and, conversely, to give the benefit of the doubt to the Soviet Union's well-calculated rhetoric of peace. Joseph Luns, NATO's outspoken Secretary-General, noted the ultimate irony: "There is a greater fear of the weapons NATO is to deploy

A latter-day grim reaper hangs over a crowd of demonstrators for peace in Bonn



Crowds gathering by the university in Bonn: housewives, clerics, workers, academics

A violent demonstrator protesting the visit of Secretary of State Haig in West Berlin

than of the weapons the U.S.S.R. has already deployed." Alarmed by the antimissile movement's challenge to the Western alliance, France's President François Mitterrand, a firm believer in U.S. defense policies, said during his visit to the U.S. last month: "As soon as possible, the U.S. should take the initiative, catch the ball while it is in the air. If it does not seize this opportunity, European countries will feel compelled to speak up and could be pushed deeper into the psychological and moral crisis we see them in today."

In his speech last week (*see* NATION), President Reagan moved to seize the opportunity. In offering to drop plans to deploy U.S. intermediate-range missiles if the Soviets dismantle theirs, he tried, belatedly and for the first time, to allay Europe's roiling fears. He also sought to undercut Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev, who had skillfully exploited America's essential and long-held views on nuclear strategy to portray the Soviet Union as the only superpower devoted to the search for peace (*see* ESSAY). While Reagan's proposal was hailed by Europe's leaders, the reaction of the peace groups was ambivalent. They took credit for forcing the President to act, but claimed he had not gone far enough, and made it clear that they would continue their campaign.

Reagan displayed an actor's exquisite sense of timing as he finally decided to step out on the foreign policy stage. Last weekend Brezhnev was due in Bonn for a four-day visit with Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, who, of all the NATO leaders, has most directly staked his future on the missile issue. West Germany, on NATO's front line, is crucial to the deployment of the new U.S. weapons.

The Europeans who initially urged the U.S. to develop and deploy the new missiles reasoned that they would offset the growing arsenal of intermediate-range Soviet SS-20s while giving the U.S. bargaining strength in any future arms negotiations. Beginning in 1977, Schmidt led the campaign for the Europeans. In so doing, he was trying to ensure that the U.S. would remain faithful to its pledge, made when the alliance was formed in 1949, to defend NATO's European members (*see box*).

Schmidt insisted that at least one other continental NATO member accept a share of the 108 Pershing IIs and 464 ground-launched cruise missiles that the U.S. proposed to install. He demanded from the U.S. a commitment to new arms negotiations with the Soviet Union, designed to reduce the number of nuclear weapons within Europe. Once the U.S. agreed to this so-called two-track decision, Italy decided to take 112 cruises and Britain 160. Belgium and The Netherlands assented, but only tentatively, to take 48 each. In both countries, weak governments tried to placate domestic opposition by linking a final

decision to progress in arms control.

The West German Chancellor's endorsement of the 1979 NATO decision has been challenged by the strong, vocal left wing of his own Social Democratic Party. Last month 58 S.P.D. members of the Bundestag signed a declaration supporting an antimissile demonstration that drew 300,000 protesters to Bonn. Schmidt described the defection as a "declaration of war" against his policies; he has threatened to resign if his S.P.D. opponents succeed in garnering a majority of votes against his missile policy at a national party congress. The vote's outcome is critical, and not just for Schmidt's career: if the new missiles are not deployed in West Germany, it is unlikely they will ever be installed in any other Western European nation.

While it is too early to say just how much pressure Reagan's proposal will take off Schmidt at home, it should certainly help convince the Europeans that Washington intends to negotiate seriously when U.S. and Soviet delegations meet in Geneva Nov. 30 to open the new round of arms-reduction talks.

The growth of the antimissile movement tends to obscure the fact that Western Europe as a whole remains committed to NATO and a close association with the U.S. Every survey of public attitudes toward the Western alliance shows solid support, ranging from 57% up, for continued membership in NATO. According to a recent poll in West Germany, 50% of those asked thought cooperation with the U.S. should be "closer," while a mere 2% favored warmer ties with the Soviet Union. Only 6% wanted a withdrawal from NATO, and 56%—one of the highest scores in three decades—said they "liked" Americans.

But such reassuring noises are misleading. The replies to more precise questions reveal the shocking degree to which the alliance is confronting a potentially disastrous change in public opinion. According to a London *Observer* poll, 53% of Britons would now like to see the U.S. withdraw its bases from their country. Other surveys show that higher defense spending—which the U.S. has asked of NATO allies—is favored by only one-third of Britons, 15% of West Germans and fewer than 10% of Belgians and Dutch. Opposition to the new U.S. missiles in the countries where deployment is planned ranges from 39% in West Germany (29% favored the missiles, and the remainder were undecided) to 68% in The Netherlands. Most revealing of all: asked if they would prefer to avoid war even if it meant living under a Communist regime, 48% of West Germans responded yes; only 27% preferred to fight.

The massing flock of doves produced by these doubts and fears must not be labeled simplistically. For the most part, the protesters are not "neutralists," a term that implies abandoning NATO for an uncommitted stance equidistant from the two superpowers. Nor do they all qualify as pacifists, since many favor the defense of their continent with conventional armaments. Only in Britain and The Netherlands do most missile opponents favor unilateral disarmament, a voluntary gesture that assumes, with immense naiveté, that the Soviets would be inspired to come forth and do likewise.

As the 300,000 people who marched through Amsterdam last weekend showed dramatically, the movement draws its strength from a broad cross section of society, much as the U.S. anti–Viet Nam protests did: housewives, professionals, academics, clerics and union members. "Today's situation is probably more serious than the crises and friction we've had in the alliance during the past 30 years," says Helmut Sonnenfeldt, a guest lecturer at the Brookings Institution in Washington and Henry Kissinger's longtime adviser on Soviet affairs. "You're not just dealing with differences among governments. You're dealing with differences that run deeply into the body politic."

What unites Western Europe's antimissile movements is moral revulsion against "overkill," the frightening capacity of each superpower to destroy the other many times over, combined with genuine fear of a nuclear war that would leave little more than ashes and radiation where 350 million people now live. Says Mient-Jan Faber, 40, the lanky, jeans-clad leader of the Dutch Inter-Church Peace Council (I.K.V.), which serves as a model to anti-nuclear organizations elsewhere in Western Europe: "Arms control, the step-by-step approach, has not worked. Our overall goal—all nuclear weapons out of Europe—will be a long process, but it can begin here." Says Volkmar Deile, secretary of Action for Reconciliation, one of West Germany's most influential peace groups: "Talking to the superpowers about disarmament is like talking to drug dealers about stopping drug deliveries."

Europe's grim recollections of the first half of the 20th century help explain the pessimism inherent in such declarations. "To Europeans, the increase in overkill capacity is an irrational act, an absurdity," says Fritz Stern, provost and a professor of history at Columbia University. "They know that we have enough to kill and be killed a hundred times over again. Their historic experience in this century—unlike America's until Viet Nam—has not been the triumphant use of power but the experience of brute and futile power, blindly spent and blindly worshiped." Even in France, where pacifist sentiment is far less widespread than in other European countries, 63% of those polled consider a war in Europe "imaginable," and 30% thought it could occur in the next five years.

TASS/SOVFOTO

Soviet President Brezhnev reviewing a military parade in Moscow

Exploiting propaganda opportunities for his "peace" offensive.

These fears have emerged at a particularly crucial moment. For the first time in NATO's 32-year history, the West harbors serious doubts about its defense capabilities. Gone is the global U.S. military superiority that could be taken for granted in the '50s and '60s. Gone is any certainty in Europe that America's "nuclear umbrella" guarantees the security of the Continent.

Simultaneously, there is a growing conviction in Europe that U.S. governments, including the Reagan Administration, cannot be trusted to handle the war-or-peace issue. Says George Ball, Under Secretary of State in the Johnson Administration and a leading expert on European affairs: "A lot of young people in Europe are disturbed by the saber rattling they have heard and continue to hear out of Washington. It scares the bejesus out of the Europeans, and they go to the streets, shouting that a bunch of lunatics is running things in Washington. What's worrisome to me is that for the people in the streets, who often aren't that numerous, there are enormous numbers at home who feel exactly the same way."

Europe's fears are so ripe for exploitation by the Soviets that the Kremlin is naturally suspected of financing some of Western Europe's peace groups. That be-

Yankee, Don't Go Home

The crisis over American missile deployment to counter the Soviet theater nuclear threat in Western Europe is only the latest symptom of a deep and recurring anxiety: How can Europeans be sure that the U.S. will be at its partners' side if Moscow launches an attack? Europeans continue to worry about that, even though the U.S. made the pledge at the beginning of the most successful defensive alliance in modern European history, the 15-nation North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

When Secretary of State Dean Acheson signed the NATO treaty on April 4, 1949, as Vice President Alben Barkley and President Harry Truman watched, Western Europe was on the brink of economic collapse and its hastily demobilized armies were overwhelmingly outnumbered by the Soviets, 210 divisions to 14.

From the beginning, U.S. power was the shield for the other NATO partners.* The critical provision of the NATO treaty, Article 5, declared, "The parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or in North America shall be considered an attack against them all." The U.S. had the responsibility, a key NATO document declared, for "strategic bombing, including the prompt delivery of any and all weapons," a euphemism for atomic bombs.

Acheson signing the NATO pact in 1949

NATO's European partners have always wanted American troops stationed on the Continent, where they would be hit by any Soviet attack and thus ensure that Washington would go to war. To support this "trip wire" theory, the U.S. vowed in 1955 that it would keep 250,000 troops on the other side of the Atlantic "as long as necessary" to guarantee European security.

As the Soviet missile arsenal grew, Europeans became concerned that the U.S. would not use nuclear weapons to defend the Continent because of a fear that Moscow would respond by attacking American cities. For some of the allies, the uncertainty grew stronger after Washington's 1963 decision to withdraw 90 intermediate-range Jupiter and Thor missiles from Europe on grounds that the weapons were obsolete. Doubts like these led Charles de Gaulle in 1966 to pull France out of NATO's military organization (although not the alliance) and organize its own nuclear retaliatory force, *la force de frappe*.

By that time, the U.S. had adopted the doctrine of "flexible response," with the aim of first meeting a Soviet attack with conventional weapons and escalating to tactical and then strategic nuclear weaponry if necessary. The Germans, still worried about U.S. resolve, prevailed upon Washington to accept the doctrine of "seamless deterrence." This obligated the U.S. to move on quickly and smoothly to the use of nuclear weapons if need be. In 1974 the U.S. again tried to satisfy European insecurities by promising that it would keep 300,000 troops and 7,000 nuclear weapons on the Continent.

But Europe continued to fear that the U.S. might leave it in the lurch. The worry even has a term in the NATO strategic lexicon: decoupling. Europe's anxieties grew in 1977 when the Carter Administration began the SALT II negotiations with Moscow. The resulting pact did not cover the SS-20 missiles. To counter these weapons, President Carter proposed stationing a new generation of U.S. intermediate-range missiles in Europe, while proceeding with arms limitation talks. The offer was readily accepted by the Europeans, including West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. That acceptance has come home to roost: it led to the present campaign to remove the very weapons that Europe wanted to help guarantee its safety—and to establish even more firmly the U.S. commitment to fight in Europe.

*The original group: Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and the United Kingdom. Greece and Turkey joined the alliance in 1952, West Germany in 1955

lief seemed to be confirmed earlier this month when a minor Soviet diplomat in Copenhagen was expelled by the Danish government after reportedly being caught passing money to peace organizations. But there is no concrete evidence that Moscow has been funding pacifist groups on a large scale, although the Soviets have been engaged in covert activity for so long that they rarely leave traces. Western Europe's well-organized Communists, however, have given organizational and financial support to pacifists. In France and Italy, the main organizations are virtual subsidiaries of powerful Communist parties. In West Germany, the extraordinary discipline of the Oct. 10 protest in Bonn was in good measure due to the work of the parade's marshals, many of whom were members of the country's tiny Communist Party.

The Dutch Inter-Church Peace Council's early advocacy of unilateral disarmament made it a tempting target for the Dutch Communist Party, which tried covertly to infiltrate local chapters. But in 1978, after delegates from Moscow were dispatched to lead a youth march in Amsterdam against the neutron bomb, the Council rebelled. Since then, the church-sponsored group has deliberately held itself aloof from the Communists, although some cooperation does still exist on the local level. This year the Dutch intelligence agency declared the Council to be free of Communist penetration, and Interior Minister Ed van Thijn told the Dutch parliament that there was "not even a scrap of evidence" for allegations that the council was taking money from the KGB, the Soviet intelligence agency

Without spending a ruble, the Soviets, who have been slow to react in the past to propaganda opportunities, have swiftly and adroitly exploited the European antimissile movement. Seizing upon a series of unfortunate slips of the tongue on the part of the President and other top U.S. Administration officials, Soviet President Brezhnev has, in speeches, interviews and conversations with visiting statesmen, portrayed President Reagan as a warmonger intent on destabilizing the global military balance by trying to achieve nuclear superiority. After a visit to the Kremlin, Michael Foot, leader of Britain's Labor Party, which favors unilateral nuclear disarmament, reported that "the Soviet Union is sincere in wanting peace and meaningful arms negotiations." Willy Brandt, the former Chancellor of West Germany, declared after meeting with Brezhnev that the Soviet leader "trembled for world peace."

Small wonder, then, that so many young people of Europe are beguiled by Soviet soft-sell and turned off by the militant talk of the U.S. An official at the Dutch Foreign Ministry, referring to what he calls the "successor generation," notes that its members "did not experience war

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In London: a forest of signs attacking the British government's pro-NATO policies

in any form. They take peace as the natural order of things. They resent any sacrifice to maintain peace. They are ignorant of the situation in Communist countries. They don't go there and they don't want to know. They believe that all superpowers are alike." Says Felipe González, the leader of Spain's Socialists: "The youth of Europe did not live through the experience of having the U.S. as a liberator. They are in a debate that began with the Viet Nam War. I think that the U.S. is not sensitive to this change of opinion, one which forgets the role of liberator, the Marshall Plan and so forth."

Young people are the vanguard of the peace movements: student peace movements, ecology peace movements, trade union peace movements, academic peace movements, "Scientists for Peace" and "Women for Peace." Unlike some hard-pressed crusaders in the past, the antinuclear protesters are often well financed, receiving funds not only from their adherents but in some cases from local governments. They have their own defense experts who talk knowledgeably about "throw weight" and "counterforce strategy" and, perhaps most important of all, they have a program. They know what they want and they know how to get it.

Nowhere is the diversity of the movement greater than in West Germany, where, at latest count, some 300 peace groups are active. Another 500 West German movements, ranging from Maoists and Trotskyites to groups wanting to change policy in South Africa, have taken up the peace issue as well as continuing to thump for their own causes. West German environmentalists are also finding ways to ride the missile issue. Opponents of the construction of a new runway at the Frankfurt airport that would destroy thousands of trees have gathered fresh support since pointing out, accurately, that the field is used by U.S. Air Force units assigned to NATO.

All these West German movements began to coalesce last year when environmentalists, youth groups, the tiny Communist Party and elements of the Lutheran Church banded together in Krefeld, a city on the Rhine, to draft a basic manifesto: a document calling upon the Bonn government to withdraw its support for the 1979 decision to deploy the U.S. missiles. By March, the petition had amassed some 200,000 signatures; now the total has reached 1.5 million and is still growing.

The Krefeld Appeal, as it is known, has been followed by a proliferation of antinuclear statements, each with an emphasis to suit a different shade of political opinion.

West Germany is particularly receptive to the pacifists' arguments. A Soviet attack on Western Europe would run right through West Germany. What is more, the country, only the size of Oregon, is saturated with more nuclear arms per square mile, all U.S.-controlled, than any other nation in the world. As Schmidt pointed out to a group of visiting newspaper editors: "If the state of New York had some 6,000 nuclear weapons on its territory, then I suggest that you Americans would have a highly vocal peace movement as well."

The Germans' lingering guilt about their Nazi past has also increased the trend toward pacifism. There is a visceral fear of war and its horrors, both inflicted and experienced. Says Novelist Heinrich Böll, an ardent member of the peace movement: "Grandfathers and grandmothers who remember the devastation of conventional wars have passed their memories on to their grandchildren."

After World War II, many Germans opposed rearming. It was not until 1960 that the Social Democratic Party, after much soul searching, accepted the 1955 decision to join the NATO alliance. "There have been worse things in Germany than young people demonstrating for peace and disarmament," Willy Brandt remarked last summer. As Erich Enders, a Munich university student, told TIME Senior Correspondent William Rademaekers: "We have grown up surrounded by reminders of our terrible past, and yet now we are a nation bristling with nuclear weapons over which we have no control. Everyone in Europe wanted a pacifist

In Madrid: a mushroom cloud banner says "no thanks" to Reagan and Brezhnev

"It is the same to us whether the missiles come from the East or the West."

In Rome: under a sign proclaiming "Peace," pacifists object to the deployment of U.S. cruise missiles in Italy

Germany. Well, now they have one."

Since Brandt launched his *Ostpolitik* (policy looking to the East) in 1970, West Germany has become more closely involved with the U.S.S.R. Says Countess Marion Dönhoff, publisher of the liberal Hamburg weekly *Die Zeit:* "We once again assumed our traditional place in the center of Europe. As a result, Bonn must to a certain extent take into account the reactions of the East."

Last week, only two days before Brezhnev's arrival in Bonn, a West German company signed an agreement with the Soviet Union that cleared the way for the largest East-West trade contract ever concluded: the construction of a $10 billion pipeline to deliver Siberian natural gas to Western Europe. The U.S. had tried, but to no avail, to convince the West Germans that becoming dependent on the Soviets for fuel would make the country too vulnerable to political pressures.

West Germany's problems are demographic as well as geographic. There are 11.5 million people (nearly 19% of the population) between the ages of 13 and 25, and more than a million will turn 17 some time this year. Once they would have been assured a comfortable future, but the country's economy is now faltering, and unemployment could reach 2 million by the end of the year. The frustration of young West Germans with their country's problems somehow finds expression in mass resentment against the Reagan Administration. In September thousands of West Germans marched through West Berlin to protest a visit by Secretary of State Haig, who personified for them U.S. nuclear policy.

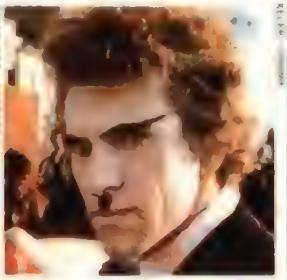
The talk of war plays upon the fears of the young. "They feel like passengers in a car racing toward an abyss," says Horst Eberhard Richter, a professor of psychosomatics at the University of Giessen. "They have a desire to grab the wheel."

In contrast to the largely Communist-led peace movements in France and Italy, West German pacifism is not closely identified with any political party. Says a Western diplomat in Bonn: "The majority of West German pacifists do not respond to political pressure. They are acting out of conviction. With them, it's religion."

Literally. The Lutheran Church has thrown its considerable weight behind the antimissile protest and so, in a more muted fashion, has the Roman Catholic Church. Protests sponsored by churches have played a major role in arousing public opinion. Earlier this month, the Evangelical Synod, which is the governing body of the Lutheran Church, approved a "peace memorandum" that was tougher on the U.S. than on the Soviet Union. That attitude has profoundly irritated Schmidt. "You can't make it so easy for yourselves," he told churchmen during a television debate. "You cannot say, when someone else builds up missiles and armaments directed against your town and other towns, 'I will hold back and God will look after me.'"

The peace movement in Britain also is growing at a remarkable pace. On Oct. 24, a crowd of more than 175,000 gathered in London's Hyde Park to call for the government not only to ban U.S. nuclear weapons but to give up its own, both ideas stoutly resisted by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government. The key speaker was Labor Party Leader Foot, who was so moved by the size and enthusiasm of the crowd that he spoke twice. His message: "Only by disarmament

In Paris: marchers reject both the Pershings and the SS-20s



For Peace or Death

In the colorful processions, amid the rainbows of banners and posters, it is the stark white masks that arrest the eye. For some demonstrators, white represents the effect of nuclear radiation upon the human body. Others find the color appropriate because it is the symbol for death in some Eastern and African societies. And in Western culture, white traditionally has stood for virtue—and peace.

can we properly protect our people."

The organization behind the huge rally was the Committee for Nuclear Disarmament. Two years ago, the group had 3,000 members; today, counting its affiliates, it has 250,000. C.N.D.'s secretary-general is Monsignor Bruce Kent, 52, a Roman Catholic priest who served in the British army as a tank commander after World War II. The monsignor is a pacifist, but, by his estimate, 80% of the organization he heads is not. Says he: "Although we are entirely opposed to weapons of mass destruction, I suppose many of my colleagues would support conventional weapons of one kind or another. No one at C.N.D. is suggesting that any country abandon all military defense." The C.N.D wants Britain emptied of nuclear weapons because, says Kent, "we are not prepared to be the first casualties in a war between the superpowers." But the C.N.D. is not urging the U.S. to scrap its own nuclear arsenal. "What we are saying to both superpowers," points out Kent, "is that without any more negotiations you could both cut massively into your nuclear stocks without risk because you both have enough for deterrence."

The national headquarters of C.N.D. is a few cramped offices in London's seedy Camden Town. Twelve full-time staffers (two of whom are Communists) and 20 volunteers clad in jeans and T shirts stuff envelopes, sort mail and dispatch the leaflets, badges and stickers that have already brought in $200,000 this year. The floor is stacked with copies of C.N.D.'s magazine, *Sanity*, whose circulation has increased from 5,000 to 60,000 in a year.

Up a flight of stairs, Bruce, as the monsignor is known to his associates, works at an old wooden desk. He is on the phone constantly, helping run up a $2,400 monthly bill as he talks to reporters, accepts speech invitations, consults with labor unions and coordinates activities with peace groups on the Continent. Still, the operation is not as rickety as the surroundings suggest: on the third floor is the computer that stores the names and addresses of members.

The second major British peace figure is E.P. Thompson, 57, the spokesman for European Nuclear Disarmament, an 18-member committee of intellectuals and activists who have similar goals to the C.N.D. In a pamphlet titled "Protest and Survive," Thompson argues that the deployment of new missiles in Western Europe is part of a plot to protect the U.S. from nuclear war at Europe's expense. America's NATO allies would be obliterated, he writes, although immense damage would also be inflicted upon Russia west of the Urals. The deployment of 160 cruise missiles in Britain, Thompson adds, is thus so frightening to the Soviets that they might actually invite a pre-emptive strike.

Italy's interest in the antimissile movement was late to develop. The main force behind the "Movement for Peace and Disarmament," which brought more than 200,000 protesters into the streets of Rome last month, was the Italian Communist Party. "Without their decision, such a large demonstration would not have taken place," says Columnist Arrigo Levi. In fact, it was Italy that made the 1979 NATO decision possible by offering its territory to fulfill Chancellor Schmidt's demand that at least one other Continental NATO member volunteer to take the U.S. missiles. "We don't have a problem of neutrality in Italy," explains Piero Bassetti, a leading member of the dominant Christian Democratic Party. "We are a weak nation. We have to stay with the Americans, even when they make mistakes."

Nonetheless, antimissile sentiment began to emerge when the government, led by Republican Prime Minister Spadolini, announced publicly that Italy's contingent of 112 cruise missiles would be based outside the small southern Sicily town of Comiso. Since then, says Marco Fumagalli, 28, a leader of the Communist Youth Federation, the missiles have no longer been a "hypothetical possibility."

Although the Italian press has given the impression that most of the protests are aimed at the U.S., a group of Communist youths stopped last month outside the Soviet embassy in Rome to shout, "Comrade Brezhnev, cannons are useless, revolution is made by the masses!" Many of the placards at Rome's big Oct. 24 rally carried the rhyming couplet, *Dalla Sicilia alla Scandinavia, no alla* NATO *e al patto di Varsavia* (From Sicily to Scandinavia, no to NATO and the Warsaw Pact).

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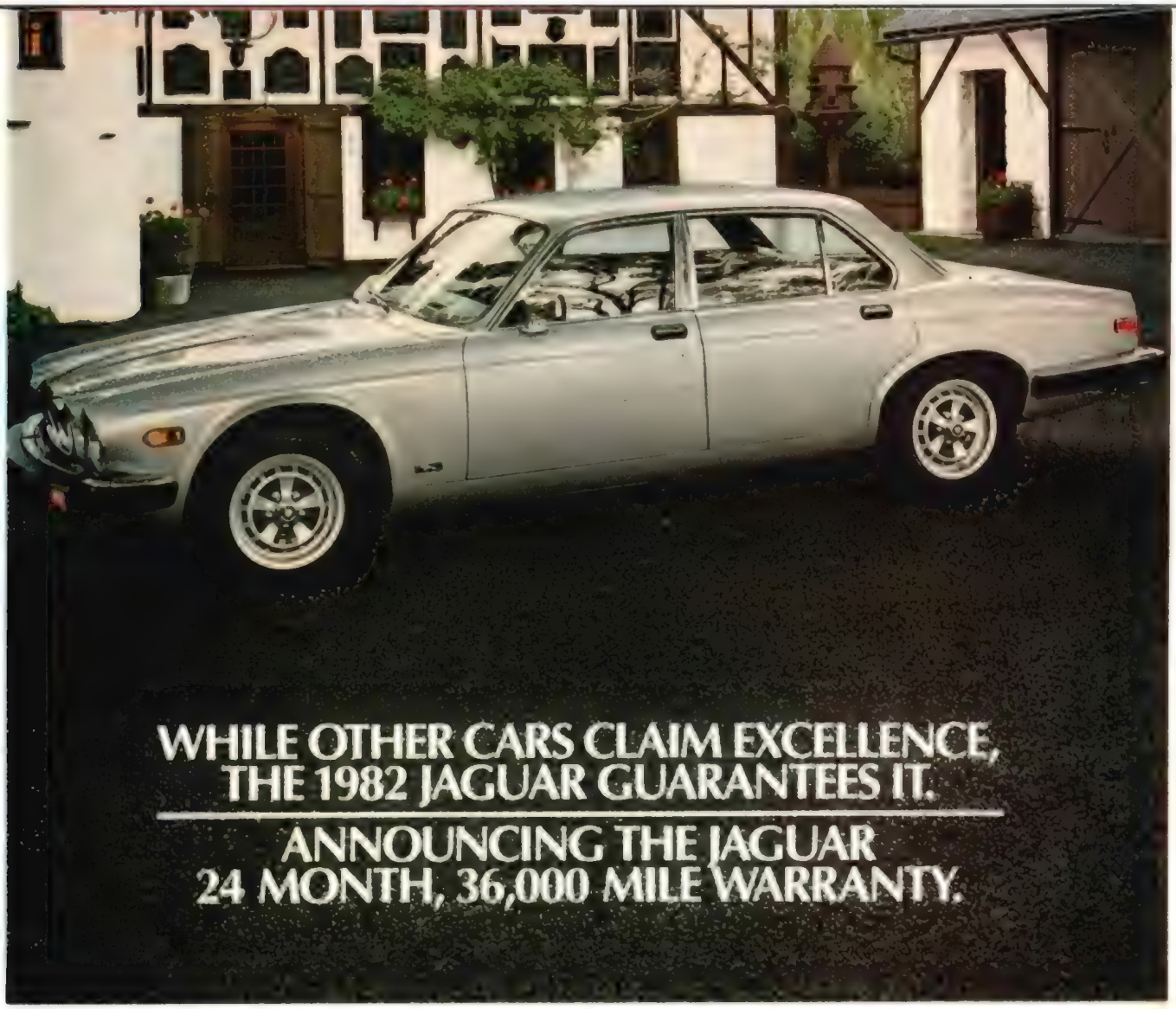

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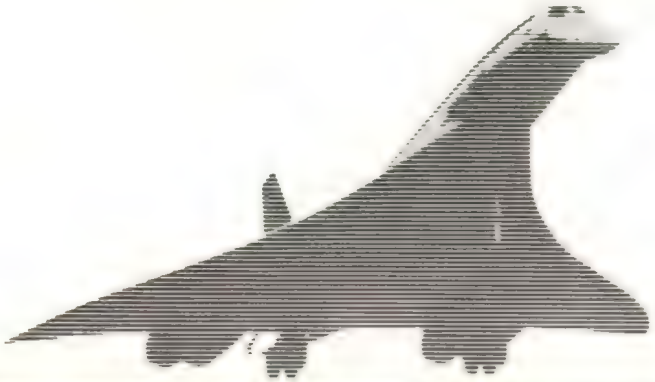

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France is Europe's odd man out on disarmament. The demonstration in Paris was by far the least impressive of any in the series last month. Only 40,000 marchers turned up, most members of a peace group with close ties to the Communist Party. President Mitterrand's Socialist Party actively opposed the demonstration. France is different because it is not part of NATO's integrated military command, though it remains a NATO member, and thus has not been asked to take any of the new U.S. missiles. More important, France possesses its own nuclear defense, the *force de frappe* created by President Charles de Gaulle. "If France does not share this feeling [of fear], it is because it has its own nuclear armament," Mitterrand has declared. "We can look after our own defense ourselves."

Mitterrand has made several pro-missile pronouncements calculated to shore up Helmut Schmidt. In addition, continuing a policy begun by former President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, Mitterrand is modernizing France's nuclear forces. Its submarine fleet, which will number seven by 1990, is being equipped with multiple-warhead M-4 missiles, and the 35 Mirage IV strategic bombers will receive new air-to-ground missiles.

The only pacifist organization of any consequence in France is the *Mouvement de la Paix*, headed by Michel Langignon, 68, an affable grandfather who has been a member of the Communist Party since 1942. The group's only significant achievement is the modest march it organized on Oct. 25 in Paris. On the ground floor of Langignon's offices in a working-class section of Paris is a collection of posters that includes onetime Member Pablo Picasso's sketch of the dove that became the familiar peace emblem. "Picasso said he didn't have enough time to think up a symbol," Langignon recalls. Suddenly French Communist Writer Louis Aragon reached into Picasso's cluttered folder, picked up a lithograph of a pigeon, and said, "Why don't you use this?" Langignon is not shy about his movement's link to the Communist Party. "We have never tried to hide it," he says.

Of all the demonstrations for disarmament, perhaps the least expected was the one that suddenly boiled up in Spain on Nov. 15, when 400,000 people gathered in a vast, dusty, open space at the University of Madrid. What made the demonstration all the more remarkable was that Spain, which will soon apply for NATO membership, has made it clear that it will not allow U.S. nuclear weapons to be stationed on its territory. But a wide variety of political parties and pressure groups, ranging from the Communists to parent-teacher organizations, joined in a loose federation to organize the spectacular meeting on the theme of "Peace, Disarmament and Liberty." The main speaker was Socialist Leader González, whose party calls for a national referendum on the question of Spain's joining NATO. González criticized both superpowers equally on the issue of disarmament. Said he: "It is the same to us whether the missiles come from the East or from the West."

What if Europe's doves succeed in blocking deployment of the new Pershing II and cruise missiles in Western Europe? That outcome would, of course, be an immense victory for the Soviets, who would have achieved one of their main diplomatic objectives without making a single concession at the arms negotiations that are about to begin. Moscow would vigorously and artfully exploit so blatant an example of U.S. weakness and Alliance disarray. But in the short run, Europe's security would not be directly threatened. "It is not as if we were starting from zero," says Martin Hillenbrand, director-general of the Paris-based Atlantic Institute for International Affairs and a former U.S. Ambassador to West Germany. "The U.S. has 6,000 tactical nuclear weapons in [Western Europe], and the French and British have their nuclear forces." The rejected systems could be replaced by cruise missiles carried by U.S. planes and submarines based in the Atlantic and Mediterranean.

France's Michel Langignon with Picasso dove

European rejection of the missiles would also break a crucial link in the complex chain of defenses that constitutes the West's deterrent against Armageddon. The Soviet Union would have the edge in most categories of armament, nuclear as well as conventional, deployed between the Atlantic and the Urals. At a time when Pentagon specialists worry that the nation's own land-based nuclear weapons within the continental U.S. have become vulnerable, the growing military imbalance, while pleasing current pacifist sentiment, might revive a long-standing European fear: that the U.S., for all its vows, would not stand by its allies in the event of a Soviet conventional arms attack in Europe. Nor is there any guarantee that a reversal of the decision to deploy new missiles would satisfy Europe's antinuclear movement. On the contrary, emboldened activists would most likely seize upon their victory to demand, as British and Dutch unilateralists already have, the total denuclearization of Western Europe, even in the absence of any Soviet reciprocity.

If this attempt were to succeed, the American public, and Congress, would probably be so angered that they would start a movement to bring U.S. forces home. That idea has already come up under much less provocative circumstances: in 1971, Mike Mansfield, then a Senator from Montana, proposed a measure, which came to be known as the "Mansfield amendment," to reduce the number of U.S. forces in Europe unless Europe spent more on its own defense. The amendment was twice defeated, and as yet there is no talk of it in Congress. "I don't think we'll have a fortress America," says former Kissinger Aide Sonnenfeldt. State Department officials express another worry: that the European peace movement could spill over to the U.S. The first signs that this might happen appeared on Veterans Day, when activists conducted antinuclear teach-ins on 148 campuses around the country.

The obvious hazard of the peace movement is that its success could bring upon Europe the very cataclysm it seeks to avoid. Unilateral disarmament could make war more likely, not less. Says Britain's Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington: "The Soviet Union, now or

Britain's Monsignor Bruce Kent — Holland's Mient Jan Faber

Crusaders for disarmament with money, experts, computers and a plan.

at some time in the future, under tomorrow's leaders if not today's, might reckon that it could afford to threaten nuclear attack on Western Europe without risking retaliation against Soviet territory." Hugh Henning, director of the British Atlantic Committee, warns that the weakening of NATO could lead to "miscalculation, which is the greatest danger of all. The Russians would say, 'Ah, the Americans don't mind about Norway, they have withdrawn. We will therefore put some muscle on them and get some warm-water ports.' The Americans will then say, 'Hey, we do mind.' Then we will get bullets fired. The cause of both world wars was miscalculation by the aggressor."

If the U.S. withdrew its troops from the Continent, observe some analysts who have been looking worriedly ahead, Europeans might suddenly realize that the U.S. has protected them not only from the Soviet Union but from themselves. Says Gregory Flynn of the Atlantic Institute: "You wouldn't have a pacifist or a neutralist Europe. You'd have an unstable Europe. It would be the 1930s all over again, and all that meant in terms of economic nationalism." The Continent's chessboard would be open to dozens of political variations, ranging from neutralism to something potentially as destabilizing as the reunification of Germany. That prospect would surely alarm not only European nations but the Soviet Union.

If the fragmentation destroyed NATO, the U.S. could work out bilateral defense agreements with individual nations. Under those circumstances, it would be more difficult for Europe to adopt an effective and independent line in foreign policy, as it has on the Middle East, and to exercise the kind of united power it wielded in recent months to persuade President Reagan to take a serious interest in arms negotiations.

The vacuum left by a U.S. military withdrawal could be filled only if Europe decided to take its defense into its own hands. But in the absence of any strong political entity—the ten-nation European Community certainly does not qualify—that is not even remotely foreseeable.

Without the U.S., NATO would be totally outnumbered by the Soviet bloc in military power. The Alliance's combined armed forces would total 2.9 million men compared with the Soviet bloc's 4.7 million. The imbalance in armament would be even worse: 776 combat aircraft to 2,150; 14,053 tanks to 26,300.

With the exception of France, no Western European country has shown the willingness to spend what it takes to develop a credible military force. "The Europeans made a conscious decision not to emphasize conventional arms buildups way back in the 1950s," says a U.S. diplomat. "They opted for the American nuclear umbrella instead. If they want that umbrella to be folded up, they presumably know the consequences and accept them. We can't graft backbone."

If Europe's defenses are weakened, the Soviet Union would not automatically make any military move. It might not have to. Says a top NATO analyst: "There need not be a Soviet invasion. The Soviets simply won't take Europe seriously. They will use it as a supply depot for technology."

The diplomats' term for this fate is "Finlandization," a reference to the policy of accommodation with Moscow that Finland, which shares a 788-mile border with the U.S.S.R., has perforce adopted since the end of World War II *(see following story)*. In essence, Europe would check with the giant looming over its Eastern shoulder before making major political or economic decisions. As one French businessman puts it: "The Soviet Ambassador would be the most powerful man in Paris—and in every other European capital."

Mounted Pershing I missile in West Germany
Would the old be banned with the new?

To those who argue that such accommodation is preferable to nuclear annihilation, Lord Carrington offers the solid answer: "This is highly misleading, because there is in fact a third alternative. It is the one that Western Europe has pursued successfully for half a lifetime: to prevent war and remain free."

Though the major NATO governments oppose the antimissile movement, they are not blameless. "We believe the Europeans are too timid in dealing with pacifist sentiment," says a Pentagon official. "They see no political rewards for themselves in speaking out on nuclear weapons policy and tend to back away from the debate. These governments have to do it for themselves." Says Christoph Bertram, director of the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies: "There are a lot of people in West Germany today who would accept a reasonable explanation of why the government believes [defense] is so important. The people are confused and frightened, and the current level of debate makes it worse."

Declares NATO Secretary-General Luns: "It is high time to shake their complacency, and I recommend doing so rather rudely. They must be told that freedom's blessing demands a price. They must be told that no matter how large that price might be, it is nothing compared to the price that would have to be paid to regain those blessings should they ever be lost." Indeed, although the U.S. and Europe are interdependent, Europe needs the U.S. militarily more than the U.S. needs Europe. Fortress America is an unattractive thought, but at least thinkable. Fortress Europe is unthinkable.

But if European public opinion needs a clearer explanation of why, 36 years after the end of World War II, its defense is still linked to U.S. nuclear power, Americans need to be reminded that there is no alternative to their special relationship with Europe. It is understandable that if the Continent decided to disarm, some might think the U.S. would do well to abandon Europe, along with the pride and eccentric nationalism that plunged the world into two global wars. If Europe chose to "opt out," the argument would run, let it. But the wars actually demonstrated that the Old World remains vital for the defense of the New. The bonds of history and culture—and economic self-interest—remain tight. Neither Western Europe nor the U.S. could prosper without the $114 billion in trade that crosses the Atlantic annually.

The massive demonstrations that surged through the streets of London, Bonn, Brussels, Amsterdam, Rome, Madrid and Paris reflect not only an honest concern about the dangers of nuclear arms but a basic misunderstanding and mistrust of U.S. plans and motives. Although he was too slow to act, President Reagan's proposal on nuclear disarmament should begin to relieve the fears of many Europeans. The issue of nuclear disarmament, in all of its many variations, has clearly shown the need for more wisdom on the part of the Americans, and more resolve on the part of the Europeans, to preserve the alliance that is so vital to the freedom of the West. ***—By Henry Muller.***

Reported by Mary Cronin/London and Roland Flamini/Bonn

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FINLAND

Making the Best of Deference

Pressures and profits of a special relationship with the Soviets

The editorial in *Pravda* last Friday was as unsubtle as it was intrusive. It noted that Finland (pop. 4.8 million) must choose a new President in January to succeed Urho Kekkonen, 81, who stepped down from the office last month after 25 years, for reasons of ill health. Then the Soviet Communist Party's official newspaper baldly proclaimed its own favorite candidate for Kekkonen's job: Ahti Karjalainen, 58, acting president of the Bank of Finland, a member of Kekkonen's Center Party and a onetime protégé of the ex-President.

The endorsement was carefully timed for the opening of the Center Party's nominating convention. With the party split almost evenly between Karjalainen and the current Speaker of the Finnish Parliament, Johannes Virolainen, 67, Moscow obviously was trying to swing a few votes. Said *Pravda*: "This party is confronted with the most important decision in its entire history."

The graceless Soviet nudging provided a stark example of the workings of "Finlandization," the pejorative term for Finland's deferential relationship with the colossus next door. Kekkonen, who energetically supported the policy, called it "active neutrality." But to many Westerners, it has come to signify abject neutrality—or what happens to a lightly armed, nonaligned country in close proximity to the Soviet Union. According to some worst-case scenarios, all of Western Europe would be prone to Finlandization if it unilaterally scrapped the protection of its own and U.S. nuclear arms.

In Finland's case, neutrality means following Moscow's lead in foreign affairs. Helsinki has responded warmly to the latest Soviet drive for a nuclear-free zone in Scandinavia. Finnish diplomats were conspicuously silent at the United Nations when that organization condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Soviet human rights abuses at home are never criticized publicly in Finland, even though Helsinki was the site of the 1975 international conference that finally wrote human rights observance into accords between the Soviet Union and the West.

Finland's economic relationship with the U.S.S.R. is complex, intimate and highly profitable for the Finns. Under special trade treaties drawn up every five years, Finno-Soviet economic ties have taken on an almost mercantilistic flavor. About two-thirds of Finland's oil comes from the Soviet Union, which in turn provides Finland with its largest export market. This year the U.S.S.R. is expected to take 24.6% of all Finnish exports. Under a special agreement, Finland pays for its Soviet oil not with money but with manufactured goods, machinery and construction services. As one result, Finland for the past two years has shown economic growth rates of 7.2% and 5.3% respectively, well above the average for the 24 industrialized countries that are members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Says Leila Lotti, 36, research director for the Finnish branch of the Gallup poll organization: "America just doesn't understand our trade with the Soviet Union. It's helped Finland out tremendously."

The tight-lipped and occasionally melancholic Finns insist that their acquiescence to the Soviets is widely misunderstood abroad. "We are a fiercely independent people," says Matti Khova, managing director of a private Finnish economic research group. "You cannot hurt a Finn more than by saying he is dependent on the Soviet Union." The Finns, who lost two wars and 12% of their national territory to the Soviets between 1939 and 1945, claim that they are simply being "realistic" in their relations with Moscow. As one prominent politician puts it, "When it's useless to do something, we don't do such things."

Possibly as a consequence of such attitudes, cynicism runs deep in Finnish society. Typically, the most popular television serial in the country in recent years was a rendition of *The Good Soldier Schweik*, the Czechoslovak tale of an apparently dim peasant-soldier who fumbles through World War I, surviving while giving the impression of following orders. Last month 120,000 Finns marched in 54 cities and towns during one of the largest peace demonstrations in the country's history. Even so, pacific sentiment has not taken hold as it has in other Western European countries. Explains a student at the University of Helsinki: "The peace movement in this country has tended to be monopolized by the far left, seen as a thing of Communist propaganda. They talk about peace all the time, and no one believes them." When the country's leading pacifist, Ulla Gyllenberg, tried to encourage Finns to place lighted candles in their windows as a pacifist gesture, the project fizzled. Explained a Finnish journalist: "We only put candles in our windows for one thing, to demonstrate our independence from Russia on Independence Day" (Dec. 6; for a century ending in 1917 Finland was a grand duchy of imperial Russia).

An undercurrent of Russophobia runs through the country. Says a Finnish grandmother whose husband died fighting against the Russians: "I can't help thinking of them as enemies." Businessmen frequently complain that they cannot find enough Russian-speaking employees to meet their needs. Says Pentti Somerto, managing director of the Finnish Employers' Confederation: "Young people feel it is not patriotic to learn Russian." By contrast, 92% of Finns study English as a second language. Helsinki is shamelessly Western, a triumph of capitalistic materialism, replete with Cartier jewelry and Sassoon-trained hairstylists.

Ambivalence about Soviet patronage is a permeating fact of Finnish life, one that is not likely to change soon. Nor will the country's relationship with the Soviets, no matter who is elected President in January. As one Western diplomatic observer puts it, "Kekkonen anticipated Soviet objections for so long, it became a habit." The habit is one the Finns show little inclination of wanting—or daring—to break. ***—By George Russell. Reported by D.L. Coutu/Helsinki***

Speaker of Parliament Johannes Virolainen

Not the man Moscow wants as President.

Bank of Finland President Ahti Karjalainen

The Kremlin tries to swing votes his way.

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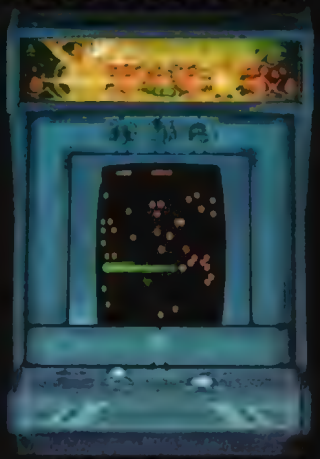

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Bitter harvest: women farm workers hoe beets in a field outside of Moscow

SOVIET UNION

Big Trouble on the Farm

Another poor harvest spurs talk of "political" problems at home

Like an aged shopkeeper, he dourly acknowledged that the shelves in the nation's *produkty* (produce) stores were nearly bare. Nervous that empty shelves meant empty stomachs and that empty stomachs meant a cynical and disgruntled people, Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev decided that it was time for some straight talk. He declared: "The food problem is, economically and politically, the central problem of the five-year plan."

It was an extraordinary admission for the leader of a country that fancies itself to be the most powerful on earth. References by the Kremlin to domestic "political" troubles are highly unusual. This one, Western analysts speculated, may have been spurred by fears of Polish-style unrest, which has been fueled by painful food shortages. Notes one Western diplomat in Moscow: "Poland shakes them. It worries them."

Outlining the Soviet Union's eleventh five-year plan to the Communist Party's Central Committee, Brezhnev took great pains to reassure the Soviet consumers. "No matter is more important, more noble, than meeting the most vital needs of the people." He promised a concerted drive to overcome the country's seemingly intractable economic problems. His lament was that the transition from an agrarian economy to a technological society was proceeding at a snail's pace. In the 1980s, he warned soberly, the Soviet Union could no longer afford to be wasteful and inefficient. Said Brezhnev: "The style of our economic activity and economic thinking, methods of planning and management system are not being restructured energetically enough."

He discreetly kept the disastrous agricultural figures to himself, but the U.S. Department of Agriculture predicted that this year's grain harvest will be only 175 million tons, 61 million short of the target. The USDA estimates that the Soviet Union will be forced to import more grain than ever before, some 43 million tons, perhaps a third of which will come from the U.S. Some experts predict that the poor harvest will set off a chain reaction of economic repercussions: food shortages, increased imports and diminished production.

Although bad weather has stunted the harvest for the past three years, shortsighted policies and poor planning have contributed heavily to Soviet agricultural woes. Prices of basic foodstuffs such as bread and meat have been virtually frozen in recent years, despite the fact that per capita income has climbed sharply. Soviet consumers have thus fattened their savings accounts while the government, which buys the food at high prices and sells it at lower ones, strains to dispense $40 billion in food subsidies. Says Marshall Goldman, the associate director of the Russian Research Center at Harvard University: "People are not spending their money. Not because they are satiated with goods, but because there is nothing to buy. So why should the peasants work?"

Waste and inefficiency are mind-boggling in the Soviet system. Western agricultural experts estimate that up to 40% of Soviet produce either spoils or gets pilfered before it reaches market. Two reasons: inefficient transportation and a shortage of storage space. This year, for example, the Soviets harvested tomatoes in the south but had no crates for shipping them elsewhere in the country. Writing in the London *Times* last week, Alec Nove, professor of economics at the University of Glasgow, noted that the Soviets were unable to improve production despite massive infusions of capital. Said he: "Some 27% of total investment goes to agriculture, a far higher figure than in any industrialized country."

Traditionally, the Soviet economy counted on a never-ending supply of manpower as a source of productivity, but even this resource is running out. Although there are about 27 million agricultural workers, the Soviets must enlist millions of extra laborers to work the fields at harvest time. Overall, there is a dramatic decrease in the number of new workers entering the nation's labor force. At the same time, the Soviet Union has been slow to mechanize: today 40% of Soviet wage earners are still in manual jobs in industry. Understandably, Brezhnev called for "a better use of manpower resources."

Brezhnev also announced that capital spending for major construction projects would be cut $42 billion in the proposed five-year plan. One likely reason for the change: "complications" in the international situation, an apparent reference to stepped-up military spending in the U.S. The implication was that a large portion of these funds for improvements in other areas would be diverted to Soviet defense needs.

Brezhnev's proposed solutions have a tired ring. Aside from the traditional call to cut waste and inefficiency, he denounced excessive government interference in local farm management. He advocated, instead, giving farm managers greater latitude for decision-making. "Collective and state farms should have the final say in deciding what should be grown on every hectare and when one kind of work or another should begin," he declared.

In principle, at least, Brezhnev was clearly on the right track. Moscow planners are notoriously inept at judging local conditions in areas hundreds of miles away. Greater independence has certainly worked out well for farming. While accounting for only 4% of the land currently under cultivation, private plots contribute 30% of the overall crop value. In practice, however, attempts to decentralize farming will surely be stubbornly resisted. Says a U.S. analyst in Washington: "The party apparatus, which is itself highly centralized, regards agriculture as its own domain. It's a traditional preserve of the party bureaucracy."

Almost invariably, efforts to improve the economy create a Catch-22 trap for Soviet leaders. To stimulate output, they must increase incentives and loosen central control. But to do so means giving up some of their vested power, which they are loath to do. Moreover, Soviet preoccupation with defense prevents any substantial diversion of resources to consumers. "The Soviets don't seem to take account of popular needs and wants as they should," says a U.S. official. Adds Goldman: "They have a tired leadership and a tired economy. Coupled with the pressures from places like Poland, it's a pretty scary situation." —***By Richard Stengel. Reported by Erik Amfitheatrof/Moscow***

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MIDDLE EAST

New Tensions on the West Bank

Israel seeks to impose its own brand of Palestinian self-rule

The midnight knock on the door came shortly after George Qamsiyeh noticed one day last week that his two-story house was surrounded by Israeli soldiers. Once inside, an officer impatiently read a military decree ordering his squad to demolish the house and confiscate the land. Qamsiyeh's son Walid had been arrested the night before, and had purportedly confessed to throwing molotov cocktails at an Israeli bus. At gunpoint, the father was urged to sign the order and given 90 minutes to evacuate his family and their belongings. At 2:07 a.m., a thunderous blast rocked the West Bank town of Beit Sahur. Seconds later, George Qamsiyeh's house lay in smoldering ruins.

By Tuesday, four other houses of West Bank families had been destroyed, leaving 62 more Palestinians homeless. At the same time, Israeli authorities gave back 225 acres of impounded property to the residents of El Bira, 13 miles from Beit Sahur, and allowed two deported Palestinian leaders to return to their West Bank towns. The contradictory measures were vivid evidence of Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon's emerging carrot-and-stick policy in the occupied territories.

The Israeli strategy, however, has provoked only new outbursts of hostility. A Palestinian village council chief, Yussuf Khatib, who cooperated with the Israeli plan, was ambushed last week by a commando squad and shot at point-blank range. Khatib was seriously wounded and his 23-year-old son Khazem was killed. In Beirut, the Palestine Liberation Organization claimed responsibility for the shooting, saying the men were guilty of "treasonous collaboration with the enemy."

P.L.O. officials also warned that Israel was planning an imminent assault on southern Lebanon, ostensibly to weaken Palestinian artillery positions. Some feared an attack could come this week as Arab leaders gather for a summit meeting in Fez, Morocco. The most likely item on their agenda: Saudi Arabia's eight-point peace plan, which calls for a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, while implicitly recognizing Israel by upholding the "right of the countries of the region to live in peace." An Israeli move into southern Lebanon would almost certainly scuttle the Saudi peace plan and eliminate any further peace overtures from moderate Arab states. That, in turn, would greatly increase the threat of a new Middle East war. Deeply worried that Lebanon's fragile cease-fire could soon crack, the Reagan Administration planned to dispatch Special Envoy Philip Habib back to the region after the Arab summit to seek a lasting truce.

The sense of urgency was heightened by an apparent deadlock between Egypt and Israel over Palestinian autonomy on the West Bank and Gaza. Just two weeks ago, both sides spoke hopefully of a "breakthrough," but that optimism has all but vanished. "There are dramatic differences just in the concept of the self-governing authority," said a Western diplomat in Cairo about the talks. After 30 months, the two sides have agreed only on how to conduct elections for members of a proposed autonomy council.

Their disagreements appear insurmountable. Egypt sees the council as a "representative body" that might one day become a Palestinian parliament. Cairo believes there should be 80 to 100 members to represent the 1.3 million Palestinians in the occupied areas. Israel, however, insists that the council should serve only as an administrative body, requiring no more than 18 participants. Egypt wants the council to "have power to amend, alter or abrogate existing laws and promulgate new laws." Israel rejects this notion as tantamount to Palestinian sovereignty.

There are other stumbling blocks as well. Egypt wants East Jerusalem to be considered part of the West Bank; Israel adamantly refuses. Egypt wants a strong local police force; Israel demands full authority to arrest any Palestinian resident considered a security threat. As a Western diplomat puts it, the underlying question in each case is the most basic one of all: "Where does Israel's authority stop and the authority of the self-governing council start?"

Egypt seems intent on faithfully pursuing the talks, if only to avoid giving Israel any pretext for delaying the return next April of the easternmost part of the Sinai. But the stalemate has persuaded top Israeli ministers that the autonomy plan will never be carried out. Echoing the prevailing sentiments last week, Deputy Foreign Minister Yehuda Ben-Meir said flatly, "We can live without the suggested autonomy." That conviction would explain the decision to proceed with Sharon's plan for a civilian administration in the West Bank and Gaza, thereby institutionalizing Israel's own concept of Palestinian autonomy.

But the recent wave of unrest on the West Bank compelled Sharon to abandon some of his own guidelines for a more humane occupation. In the latest crackdown, Israeli forces have shut down Birzeit University, imposed strict curfews while they tracked down protesters and dynamited houses belonging to relatives of those involved in anti-Israel violence. Some Israelis found the demolition of houses especially repugnant. "This is insanity, sheer madness," said a top-ranking security official. "It does not make sense. It makes the whole peace process meaningless."

Sharon's harsh actions also dismayed some Israeli military and intelligence officers in the occupied areas. Major General Danny Matt, chief coordinator of Israeli operations in the West Bank and Gaza, brusquely handed in his resignation last week. Said Matt: "I am resigning because Israel has no policy in the administrative territories, and whatever appears to be the new policy will lead only to another war." Some of the victims also seemed bewildered by the demolition policy. Standing in the rubble that was once her house in Beit Sahur, Palestinian Housewife Miriam A'teyeh asked: "Is this the way they want peace with us?" —***By William Drozdiak. Reported by David Halevy/Jerusalem and Robert C. Wurmstedt/Cairo***

DAVID RUBINGER

West Bank Palestinian George Qamsiyeh and family sifting the rubble of their home

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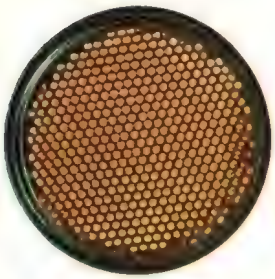

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NORTHERN IRELAND

Edging Toward the Abyss

Protestants rally against a new wave of I.R.A. violence

Besieged by angry mourners, Prior is led to his car by security men

Bradford's coffin is carried from church

The brazenness of the act seemed to stir Protestant passions as rarely before. The Rev. Robert Bradford, a Protestant Member of Parliament, was at a community center in Belfast, meeting with constituents. Suddenly, Irish Republican Army gunmen stormed into the building and pumped six shots into him. It was the first time the I.R.A. had turned its guns on an M.P. from Ulster, and it touched off a bitter backlash against Britain for not taking stronger steps to end the bloodshed in the province.

The Protestants' anger flared into the open when James Prior, Britain's Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, arrived to pay his respects at Bradford's funeral. Spitting, kicking blindly with rage and screaming "Murderer!", a mob of soberly dressed mourners charged at Prior, while police and bodyguards struggled to protect him. Inside the packed church, applause broke out when, referring to the I.R.A., the Rev. Roy Magee said, "If a cancer is not cut out, it will kill our province." Another 50,000 Protestants mourned Bradford elsewhere in Ulster. Declared the Rev. Ian Paisley, a militant Protestant leader: "We are over the brink."

Sectarian tensions were at their highest level since the early 1970s, when the region hovered on the verge of civil war. At the source of Ulster's new troubles is an apparent shift in I.R.A. tactics. Having failed to win political concessions with hunger strikes, which disintegrated last month in the face of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's unyielding resistance and an erosion of support from families of participating prisoners (ten of whom died this year), the I.R.A. has returned to the gun and stepped up its campaign of terror.

During the past three weeks, twelve people have been killed in Northern Ireland, including the 17-year-old son of an Ulster Defense Regiment soldier, and an 18-year-old Catholic youth who was shot as he walked home on the night of Bradford's murder. The I.R.A. has also launched a series of bomb attacks in Britain. Four bombs have exploded in London during the past six weeks, killing three people. British Attorney General Sir Michael Havers narrowly missed death when a change of plans kept him in Madrid on the night a bomb destroyed his bedroom.

The Rev. Ian Paisley: "Do or die"

The violence is at least partly attributable to a warming in relations between Dublin and London. Earlier this month Thatcher and Irish Prime Minister Garret FitzGerald met in London and agreed to seek closer cooperation between North and South by establishing an Anglo-Irish Intergovernmental Council. The move was anathema to both the I.R.A., which fears a lessening of tensions would undermine their cause, and the Protestants, who suspect a secret deal between London and Dublin, possibly leading to the withdrawal of British troops and the eventual unification of Ireland.

For Protestants already upset by Britain's conciliatory policies toward the Catholic South, the assassination of Bradford was the flash point. Paisley and two other Ulster M.P.s pointed an accusing finger at Thatcher from the Members' gallery in the House of Commons and shouted: "There is the guilty woman." During the ensuing uproar, Paisley and his hard-line Unionist cohort continued to roar the accusation that Thatcher and her ministers were responsible for Bradford's death. After being escorted from the House and suspended from Parliament for five days, Paisley vowed that he and other defiant Protestants would make the province "ungovernable." Paisley also claimed he had organized a "third force" of 25,000 to 30,000 men to deal with the I.R.A. and called for a "day of action" this week, including a half-day strike and mass demonstrations.

Alarmed by the gravity of the situation, the British government dispatched a "spearhead" battalion of 600 paratroopers to Ulster to join the 10,800 troops already there. Prior, meanwhile, mounted a rhetorical attack against Paisley's third force. "This government," said Prior, "will not tolerate the Protestant bullyboys and private armies any more than we will tolerate the I.R.A."

By week's end Paisley was holding firm to his plans ("It is either do or die"), and British troops were bracing for a war of nerves. Determined not to show favor to either side, the government pledged that its security measures would apply equally to Catholics and Protestants. "One bit of good that might come of this," mused a senior government official in Northern Ireland, "is that maybe looking into the abyss will make people on both sides realize we have got to find a way out of this." For the time being, however, they seemed poised on the precipice. —*By Guy D. Garcia. Reported by Bonnie Angelo/London and Edmund Curran/Belfast*

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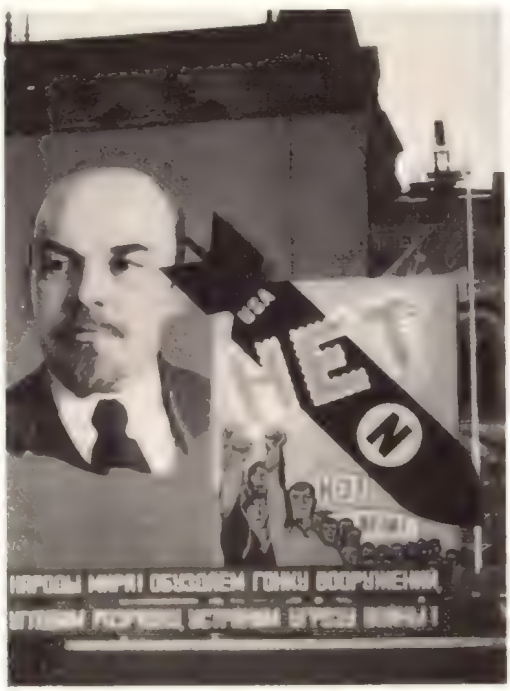
The Dilemma of Nuclear Doctrine

For Americans, one of the more galling aspects of the current crisis in the Western alliance is that the Kremlin has sometimes seemed to be succeeding in persuading many Europeans who ought to know better that the Soviet Union is waging a genuine "peace offensive," while the U.S. has recklessly embarked on a road that could lead to war. Part of the problem is that large segments of the European body politic have gone limp: much public opinion and political leadership too seem to be turning naive or neurotic, or both. The U.S. has not helped by responding with a loud voice and a tin ear. Before President Reagan's widely hailed speech last week, his bellicose anti-Soviet rhetoric and willful insensitivity even to legitimate Western European concerns often made it easier for Leonid Brezhnev to find an audience for his siren's song.

But the U.S. has been on the defensive because of a deeper problem—one that has been in the background for decades but has only just come to the fore since Brezhnev lured Reagan into a public argument about the feasibility of limited nuclear war. At issue is declaratory nuclear doctrine: the official statements that the superpowers make to define the circumstances in which they might resort to the use of their ultimate weapons. On this particular grim but hypothetical topic, the U.S. is almost sure to continue taking a beating.

For the U.S., declaratory nuclear doctrine is intended as an auxiliary to military deterrence. The words are supposed to express the political will to use the weapons if necessary, and thus dissuade the other side from ever making their use necessary. With precisely that goal in mind, a succession of American Administrations, going back to the '50s, has asserted that *in extremis*, the U.S. would be prepared to fight a nuclear war with the Soviet Union; moreover, the U.S. has reserved the right to detonate the first mushroom cloud if that is what it takes to halt Soviet aggression



Typical antiwar propaganda poster in Moscow

Keeping open the option of first use has been justified, and indeed required, by the U.S.S.R.'s geographical proximity to Western Europe and the Warsaw Pact's considerable advantage over NATO in manpower and non-nuclear armaments. The defense of Western Europe has depended on the threat that conventional Soviet attack could provoke an American nuclear response.

Soviet declaratory doctrine, by contrast, is an auxiliary to propaganda and diplomacy. The words serve to disguise and even deny actual military capabilities. Instead of trying to frighten their enemies into restraint, the Soviets are trying to enhance their bogus claim of championing disarmament and advance their campaign to divide NATO.

It is with those ulterior motives that Brezhnev has recently had such a field day at Reagan's expense. He has reiterated the Soviets' longstanding protestations that theirs is a purely retaliatory, "second-strike" doctrine; he has denounced the notions both of limited nuclear war and of victory in such a war as dangerous fantasies, and he has floated a proposal for a joint Soviet-American renunciation of first use. That innocent-sounding suggestion is actually thoroughly loaded, since it would undercut the threat of first use on which Western deterrence partially rests.

Furthermore, none of Brezhnev's disavowals and reassurances conforms with the nature and size of Soviet military programs. The Soviets' arsenal is simply too bloated and too destructive to qualify as purely defensive. Some of their larger missiles have little imaginable utility except for partially disarming the U.S. by attacking its most heavily protected missile sites. And even the Soviets' genuinely defensive programs, such as their vigorous civil defense efforts and antiballistic missile research, are worrisome in that they suggest a determination to minimize the damage of a war and, to that extent at least, to "win."

All this does not mean that the present Soviet leadership is secretly plotting war as it talks peace. The old men in the Kremlin probably believe what they preach about the impossibility of containing the spread of a nuclear conflict or of launching a successful sneak attack. But there is nonetheless good reason for concern about the future. While it is extremely unlikely that even some future generation of Soviet leaders would initiate an unprovoked first strike, they might be tempted to try to get the drop on the U.S. in a *High Noon*–type showdown over some crisis in the Third World or Europe. If the Kremlin thought the Americans were about to exercise their self-avowed first-use option, the Soviets might go for their own nuclear guns all the more quickly.

The instinct to do so would follow quite logically both from what the Soviets say in public and from what they may be thinking about among themselves. The Soviets may be correct in dismissing the concept of limited, controlled nuclear war as highly unrealistic. Even some distinguished American strategists and military men who publicly defend that concept as politically necessary for the defense of Europe concede in private that a so-called selective flexible response would be likely to unleash a chain reaction out of either side's control. Since the Soviets make no bones about the inevitability of escalation, in an actual war with the U.S. they would probably try to make the best of a bad situation by keeping one step ahead on the escalator, being the first to fire off weapons at the next higher level, then hunkering down under their elaborate defenses.

Thus, the world in general—but the West in particular—has stumbled into a morass of paradoxes. The Soviet Union has promulgated a benign-sounding nuclear doctrine, which its principal adversary, the U.S., does not believe, coupled with a threatening program that induces the U.S. to fear and prepare for the worst. One peril of worst-case planning is that it can sometimes be self-fulfilling.

The U.S., for its part, has clung to a missile-rattling doctrine that made more sense ten years ago, when the West enjoyed nuclear superiority. Now the Soviets have amassed new nuclear

A GIFT TO WEAR.
OR USE AS A PEN.
SHEAFFER.

Audi 5000 Turbo—Photographed at the Orangery, Fulda, West Germany.

Only one car sold in America has 50 years of front-wheel drive.

The 1982 Audi.

Audi

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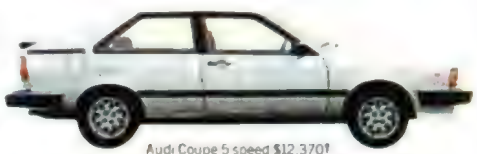

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weapons to back up their formidable conventional ones. That raises a disturbing question about what might happen if the U.S. ever made good on the promise of its nuclear umbrella over Europe by responding to tanks with missiles. In that event, the Soviets might rain down warheads on the U.S. itself—a prospect that makes many doubt whether a limited nuclear war would stay that way. And even if it would, the Europeans could hardly be consoled by the idea of a war "limited" to Europe.

In short, the time-honored U.S. declaratory nuclear policy of deterring aggression by threatening to "go nuclear" against a Soviet tank blitzkrieg has lost much of its credibility. Worse, that doctrine has recently risked backfiring: it has frightened the U.S.'s allies and emboldened its adversaries—which is exactly the opposite of what declarations of nuclear policy are supposed to do.

The fault for these deepening dilemmas lies largely with the Soviet Union. If the Soviets were truly interested in restoring stable mutual deterrence, they could scale down their military machine and desist from international behavior that provokes crises.

But instead of simply waiting for such welcome though unlikely Soviet contributions to stability, the U.S. can make a few salutary moves of its own. One is to keep arms control alive. The unratified SALT II treaty established modest but significant limitations on the most threatening components of the Soviet arsenal. That is why the Reagan Administration wants to keep the SALT limits in place, even though it vows it can do better in its own negotiations with the Soviets.

On that score, the Europeans are justifiably skeptical. Until Reagan's initiative last week, his Administration had displayed a mixture of barely suppressed, ideologically motivated hostility to the very idea of arms control. Even now the Europeans are not convinced that the Administration wants to achieve an agreement with the Soviets rather than just score propaganda points.

Test of U.S. Pershing II ballistic missile

In its arms program, the U.S. should concentrate on developing systems that are by definition retaliatory in that they cannot destroy concrete-sheltered targets with only a few minutes' warning time. This would mean giving priority to manned bombers, cruise missiles and submarine-launched missiles. A certain number of highly accurate ballistic missiles like the intercontinental MX and the intermediate-range Pershing II will be necessary as a counter to similar, more numerous Soviet systems, but the unchecked proliferation of such first-strike capabilities on both sides increases the risk not just that the rockets will be on hair trigger but that the nerves of the men who control them will be too.

Another urgent need—which is as much the Europeans' responsibility as the U.S.'s—is an all-out, sustained buildup in conventional forces. The Western democracies will probably never be able to match the Soviet bloc in conscripted military, but by substantially narrowing the gap, NATO might some day be able to deter the armored legions of the Warsaw Pact without having to rely quite so much on the threat of using the nuclear equalizer. With the viability of nuclear deterrence against nonnuclear aggression already in doubt, the less that concept is belabored, the better.

The same goes for official speculation about nuclear war in general. U.S. leaders should simply shut up on the subject—or at least make much clearer that they are determined to avoid nuclear war rather than create the impression that they are pondering how to fight it. It was a good sign when Secretary of State Haig acknowledged two weeks ago that "there's too much talk" about limited nuclear war and that "this talk should be terminated." Reagan's latest speech has also helped. Maybe when the rhetorical belligerence dies down on this side of the Atlantic, the caterwauling on the other side, the whining of the Europeans and the self-righteous propagandizing of the Soviets will do the same. Or at least there will be less excuse for it.

—By Strobe Talbott

Milestones

DIED. William Holden, 63, Oscar-winning actor who played in more than 50 films; of head injuries suffered in a fall; in his Santa Monica, Calif., apartment. Holden became a star at 21 as the hard-punching innocent in *Golden Boy* (1939), but his appeal for the next 40 years was that of the man's man, cocky and cynical, meeting the demands of any situation head-on and with no sweat. He could lead a troop of renegade soldiers out of *Stalag 17* (for which he won his Oscar as Best Actor) or across *The Bridge on the River Kwai*. He was equally at home on the range, leading *The Wild Bunch* to one last dustup with destiny. Moving and speaking with the languid grace of inherited wealth (his father ran a chemical business), he wooed Audrey Hepburn into maturity in *Sabrina* and shepherded Gloria Swanson through the gaudy dementia of *Sunset Boulevard*. His easy sexual authority dared women to try to impress him. One who did, Kim Novak, made film history with Holden: their slow dance in *Picnic* (1956) remains an electrifying expression of romantic passion. In the '60s, Holden found refuge in the wilds of Kenya, where he supported conservation causes. In Santa Monica to read a movie script, Holden fell down after drinking heavily, lost consciousness and bled to death.

DIED. Bob Eberly, 65, one of the great crooners of the Big Band era and star with the Dorsey Brothers Orchestra; of cancer; in Glen Burnie, Md. Eberly, who helped popularize such songs as *Blue Champagne, Green Eyes* and *The Breeze and I*, signed with Jimmy and Tommy Dorsey when he was 17. When the Dorsey brothers split up in 1935, Eberly remained with Jimmy and went on to a career on concert stages and in nightclubs that spanned more than four decades.

DIED. Daniel Lang, 68, author of eight critically acclaimed books concerned with social and scientific dilemmas; of leukemia; in New York City. Lang's best-known works were *Casualties of War* (1969), about the rape-killing of a young Vietnamese woman by American soldiers, and *A Backward Look: Germans Remember* (1978), on modern-day German views of the Third Reich. He recently completed a libretto for opera, *Minutes to Midnight*, which deals with a favorite theme: the moral predicament of scientists engaged in nuclear-weapons research.

DIED. Charles Parlin, 83, former co-president of the World Council of Churches and former president of the World Methodist Council; in New York City. A staunch ecumenist, Parlin was the first American layman to be named to the six-member presidium of the World Council of Churches, where he served from 1961 to 1968. A lawyer, he defended Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam when the House Un-American Activities Committee investigated charges in 1953 that Oxnam had a Communist Party affiliation.

DIED. Enid Markey, ninetyish, multifaceted actress who played the first Jane in the original *Tarzan of the Apes* and whose 60-year career included not only silent movies but Broadway plays, radio and television productions and several talkies; in Bay Shore, N.Y.

Squeeze Play at Home

High prices and costly mortgages force people to modify their living styles

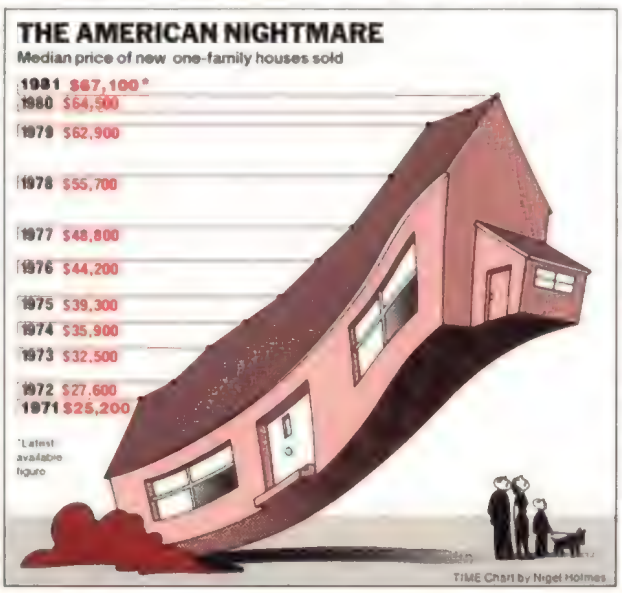
Patricia Roberts, 32, a Federal Reserve Board researcher in Washington, decided that homeownership even before marriage was the best way to beat inflation. As a single person, her $24,000-per-year salary put her in a relatively high tax bracket, and she lacked the tax benefits of owning a house. The trouble was that she could not meet the steep mortgage payments required for homes in the expensive Virginia suburbs. Her friend Suzanne Reed, 30, who works for the House Republican Research Committee, was in a similar bind. "It finally dawned on us," says Roberts, "that we just couldn't afford the kind of place we wanted alone."

The two women then decided to become joint owners of a $111,000 town house in an Arlington, Va., development that designs homes for unrelated buyers who double up to beat the high costs of homeownership. Similar developments are cropping up in Phoenix, Denver, Houston and Montgomery County, Md. The sharing is usually done by two young singles, but friendly couples and unrelated senior citizens beset by loneliness, as well as inflation, are also doubling up. The obvious cause of the trend is the decade-long escalation of housing costs and mortgage interest rates. At present, the average-priced new home sold in the U.S. costs $67,100 and has a 17.5% mortgage.

Realtors have labeled those willing to share ownership and living arrangements as the "mingles market." Typically, mingles houses feature two or more identically sized master bedrooms connected to private baths, plus a shared kitchen and combination living and dining room. Houses and condominiums built for mingles usually are no bigger than four or five rooms. To preserve a semblance of privacy, the two master bedrooms are usually put at opposite ends of the house. "We believe people will settle for less if a home fits their life-style," says mingles developer Rick Sullivan, 36, who plans with partner Herman Porten, 52, to build 2,000 mingles town houses of 800 to 1,300 sq. ft. in the Washington suburbs. Price: $50,000 to $80,000 apiece.

Mingles housing is just one of the ways Americans are improvising to cope with the collapse of the traditional housing market. A maturing baby boom generation was once expected to fuel a housing boom throughout the 1980s, generating demand for 2 million new units annually. But consumers now are simply unable to buy homes. Fully 85% of U.S. families cannot afford the $904 monthly interest payment required for a typical mortgage of $60,000, at 18% interest, according to a study by the National Association of Home Builders.

As a result, new housing starts have fallen off a cliff. The Commerce Department last week reported that construction on new homes in October dropped to an adjusted annual rate of 857,000, the lowest level in 15 years. Starts of single-family homes meanwhile hit the lowest rate since the end of World War II, an adjusted annual level of 487,000.



While thousands of unattached people are moving in together, another alternative for the hordes of young people born in the middle of the postwar baby boom is going back home to live with the folks. Although this can cause some problems, it is often a comfortable solution. "I have a very cushy life-style," confides Sandy Edens, 26, who commutes from her father's house in Grosse Point, Mich., to the Center for Creative Studies, a private Detroit art college, where she is assistant dean of students. Adds she: "A maid comes and cleans and does the cooking, and I can use all the money I'd pay for rent on clothes and vacations." Edens, who contributes to the cost of food, utilities and the maid's salary, concedes that there are drawbacks to the arrangement. "If a gentleman friend wanted to stay the night, he'd have to use the guest room." In Troy, Mich., Sheet Metal Executive Harold Rochon, 44, last August invited daughter Dee Anne and her new husband Steve to move to a cottage attached to the side of their split-level ranch house after the newlyweds began experiencing financial difficulties. Says he: "We like the kids, and that's all that counts. We hope they can put some money aside for the day they want to move out."

Lending officers around the U.S. report a big jump in home improvement loans, which are often used to pay for construction of extra living quarters in existing housing. "It's a fair surmise that much of this expansion is being done to accommodate children who live at home," says Norwick R. Goodspeed, chairman of the Peoples Savings Bank of Bridgeport, Conn., which has seen a 50% increase in home improvement loans since 1979.

In Braintree, Mass., Builder Gordon Poulos recalls that on one local street he recently encountered three different homeowners who were sprucing up their cellars to house family members. Says he: "It used to be that people finished the attic of a Cape Cod home. Now they're fixing up the cellars, hooking up fluorescent lights, making real underground apartments."

The renting of rooms in single-family homes is also rising, even in areas where multiple occupancy of single-family housing violates local zoning laws. In one recent survey of 200 bedroom communities surrounding New York City, 71% reported that illegal rentals were beginning to surge. Says Richard Spirio, planning commissioner in the town of Babylon, N.Y. (pop. 153,000): "People have been hiding their heads in the sand about illegal, multifamily conversions. In Babylon, we discovered that roughly 5,000 homes out of 38,000 had already been converted."

Babylon officials have been willing to approve such conversions, although urban planners have long regarded them as a cause of overcrowding and city decay. The

Housing for "mingles": Patricia Roberts, left, and Suzanne Reed in their Alexandria, Va., home

Unrelated couples and senior citizens beset by loneliness and inflation also double up.

new arrangements make it possible for older couples to remain in their homes, while permitting the community to keep its younger members, most of whom are unable to afford local home prices.

High costs for traditional housing have proved a boon for manufacturers of mobile homes, whose sales for the first eight months of 1981 rose 17%, to an annual rate of 280,000 units. Price is the big selling point. Last year, a mobile home cost an average of about $18,500, compared with $64,500 for site-built houses.

Today's mobile home is mobile in name only. Often, it makes just one trip, going from the factory to the lot, where it is permanently attached to a foundation. For about half of the homes sold, the site is a conventional trailer park. But increasingly, manufacturers are promoting mobile-home subdivisions complete with curving streets and cul-de-sacs.

The standard, single-width mobile home accounts for 70% of the industry's sales, yet double-wide and triple-wide mobile homes, supplied with shingled roofs, wood paneling and even wet bars, are growing in popularity. Prices start at about $8,000, but at the very top of the line they reach $100,000. Champion Home Builders of Dryden, Mich., is developing a luxury mobile-home complex in Novi, Mich. In the Southern California town of Yorba Linda, manufacturer Fleetwood Enterprises has joined with a local developer, John D. Lusk & Son, to create a posh 400-acre development known as Green Hills. The community will include both custom-built Fleetwood mobile homes, selling for $87,000 and up, including land, and site-built homes, starting at $200,000. Yorba Linda officials dropped the normal lot size requirement from 7,500 to 5,000 sq. ft. so that builders could lower costs and the city could fulfill state requirements for lower- and middle-income housing. Says Planner Robert Kirkpatrick: "The conventional building industry has come to a virtual halt in this area. If interest rates remain where they are, we will be looking at more and more of these types of arrangements."

Both home builders and potential buyers last week saw some encouraging signs that the cost of borrowing money may be dropping a little. First, the Federal Reserve eliminated the 2% surcharge it had been charging member banks for loans. Then the Open Market Committee met in Washington, and some Federal Reserve watchers concluded that the group voted to ease up slightly on its tight money policy. Many banks last week lowered the bench-mark prime rate to 16.5%, and a few went as low as 16%.

These declines, however, will be slow in reaching mortgage rates, which traditionally trail the prime as money-lending levels both rise and fall. Still, New York's Citibank and Chase Manhattan last week dropped the rate on several types of mortgages. Although Citibank will still charge regular customers 16.5%, the 1% cutback was Citibank's first decline since August 1980. In Columbus, Ohio, BancOhio announced a mortgage rate cut to 16¾% from 17¾%. Nonetheless, housing experts doubt that mortgage levels will drop to less than 13% during 1982. Such rates are nearly double those of a decade ago and would force many home buyers to continue searching for new housing alternatives. ***—By Kenneth M. Pierce. Reported by Christopher Redman/Detroit and Jeanne Saddler/Washington, with other U.S. bureaus***

Dollhouses in Texas

While the U.S. housing industry suffers through its worst slump in 15 years, Dallas-based Fox & Jacobs has sold some 600 cottage homes in Dallas, Fort Worth and Houston since July. Reason: the houses are going for as little as $34,500. Fox & Jacobs, which uses assembly-line methods, has become a master builder of low-priced homes.

The company cuts costs at every step, beginning with the concrete slabs on which each home sits. Crews stretching out for four blocks lay foundations for a whole neighborhood. Construction hands then nail frames and panels assembled in company factories to the slabs, and add prebuilt roof sections and wood siding. The least expensive cottages take only 33 days to construct. Conventionally built houses, by contrast, may take up to 36 days. While one of the bedrooms in some models is too small for a double bed, the living rooms and kitchens have vaulted ceilings, giving an impression of spaciousness. Because of the low price and an attractive 14.5% mortgage that Fox & Jacobs helps owners obtain, the typical monthly payment on the new cottage homes is only $518.

The small homes are now outselling larger Fox & Jacobs models by 3 to 1. Until last July the price of the company's bestselling houses ranged from $60,000 to $80,000. Sales Manager Joseph Kantrell believes that cottage houses would do even better if more of them could be built. But some local zoning officials are not permitting the firm to construct the small homes because they fail to meet minimum square-footage requirements.

Three weeks ago, James and Patricia Allen moved into their new three-bedroom, 1,000-sq.-ft. cottage home 33 miles northwest of Houston. Allen, 38, who builds displays for oil and gas exhibitions, was looking for something near his job. The couple has three children, ages six, four and two, and plans to move in a few years into a bigger place. Says Patricia: "I wouldn't be happy here if I knew I had to live in this house for the rest of my life. But since it's a semi-temporary situation, I can live with it. But what I wouldn't give for just 100 feet of extra room!"

The Allens and Daughter Amber: affordable monthly payments

Marathon's Run

U.S. Steel bids for an oil firm

The American steel industry has long been one of the periodic sick men of U.S. business, along with autos, housing and tires. Most steel plants are badly in need of modernization. Moreover, American firms are losing domestic markets to tough foreign competition. Only two weeks ago, U.S. Steel announced that it was going to court to block imports of low-priced foreign steel.

But despite those troubles, U.S. Steel last week announced that it was offering about $6.4 billion in cash and notes to acquire Marathon Oil, the 17th biggest American petroleum company. The deal ranks just behind last summer's successful $7.3 billion bid by Du Pont, the chemical giant, to buy Conoco, the ninth biggest American oil firm. Critics immediately began charging that U.S. Steel should be using the money for its own development. Lionel Olmer, Under Secretary of Commerce for International Trade, said that the agreement "calls into question the seriousness of the steel industry's efforts to modernize its steelmaking facilities."

For Ohio-based Marathon, U.S. Steel's offer amounted to a giant Rolaids tablet spelling relief. For the past three weeks, Marathon has been resisting a takeover bid by Mobil Corp., feeling that Mobil was offering far less for Marathon's shares than they were worth. The firm has run full-page newspaper ads in protest and hauled Mobil into court to block the takeover move. Mobil had bid $85 a share for 40 million shares, 67% of the total, and proposed some other trimmings as well, pushing its offer to $5.1 billion. But that was nowhere near the $200 each that some analysts assigned to Marathon, considering the size of its proven oil reserves of 1.1 billion bbl. The U.S. Steel bid of an average $106 per share was still below those estimates.

Marathon's executives were clearly worried that absorption by Mobil would destroy their company's identity, a fear U.S. Steel sought to allay. Said Marathon President Harold D. ("Hoop") Hoopman, 61, after the agreement was announced: "We've been assured by U.S. Steel that Marathon will remain a vigorous competitive force in the oil industry."

Under the terms of the deal, Marathon's management would be retained, and the company's headquarters would remain in Findlay (pop. 36,000), where they have been almost since Marathon was founded in 1887 by 14 local oilmen. Hoopman got a hero's welcome when his Lockheed JetStar touched down last week after the deal was concluded. Findlayites swarmed around him on the tarmac, shouting, "Hoop, Hoop, hurrah!" Said one Wall Street analyst: "People did not want big oil in their town."

The U.S. Steel action fitted into the company's broad diversification program of the past few years. The firm has invested more and more money in chemicals, manufacturing and engineering; and steelmaking now accounts for only 11% of total company operating income. U.S. Steel will pay for Marathon probably with the $3 billion in bank credit lines it has built up, and the $2.5 billion in cash on hand partly from the sale of coal and cement properties. U.S. Steel Chairman David M. Roderick insisted that the Marathon purchase would not "diminish U.S. Steel's commitment to steel operations."

Marathon investors had reason to be pleased. The value of their stock, which had traded as low as $45 in the past year, shot up to $104, helped by a single day's rise of more than $27 after the deal was announced. Few observers, though, were totally convinced that Marathon's fate has been sealed. Mobil could raise its offer and touch off a bidding war, other oil companies might try to get Marathon, or the Government could rule out any merger on antitrust grounds. The Marathon drama may go on for several weeks. ■

President Harold D. Hoopman talks at a rally of employees and supporters in Findlay, Ohio

When the boss's JetStar touched down, the crowd cheered, "Hoop, Hoop, hurrah!"

Bilking Broker

Paper trading in St. Louis

Safe-deposit box No. 4411 at Boatmen's National Bank of St. Louis was supposed to hold stock certificates as gilt-edged collateral for ten of the largest margin accounts at Stix & Co., a prestigious St. Louis brokerage house. While investigators from the Securities and Exchange Commission looked on, a bank official and an officer of Stix turned matching keys in time-honored fashion. But when the box was removed, it contained a pouch filled with back issues of the *Wall Street Journal*. Securities worth some $36 million were missing.

The next day, the SEC charged Stix & Co. with securities-law violations. With $36 million unaccounted for, the 69-year-old firm suddenly had a negative net worth of $14 million, and four days after the SEC's accusation, a federal district judge declared the firm insolvent.

The scandal at Stix began with a routine IRS audit of the firm's senior vice president, Thomas R. Brimberry. Brimberry, 38, joined the firm in 1973 as an $8,000-a-year clerical worker. Five years later, he was promoted to senior vice president in charge of operations, a post he snared when his friend and lawyer, James Massa, bought controlling interest in the firm. The onetime clerk quickly became a high roller, building a home worth some $800,000 in a St. Louis suburb and making frequent gambling jaunts to the casinos of Nassau and Nevada.

Investigators believe that Brimberry's blue-chip life-style was financed with money looted from Stix's clients. Though no indictments have yet been handed up, an affidavit filed in federal court indicates that Brimberry told an Internal Revenue Service agent that he, Massa and Stix President Frederic A. Arnstein Jr. withdrew as much as $100,000 at a time from client accounts and funneled it into shadow accounts. Brimberry then reportedly forged records to cover the withdrawals, removed stock certificates from genuine accounts and forwarded them to banks to serve as collateral for further loans to the bogus accounts. Thus the cash from the bank loans allegedly fed the private accounts of Brimberry and his co-conspirators.

Brimberry

The scam was simple to pull off because Brimberry was solely responsible for account transfers when clients bought stock on margin, and he supervised the handling of the firm's stock certificates and cash. Massa, though, denies any knowledge of wrongdoing. Said he: "I didn't know what he was doing over there. Apparently Brimberry's a very smart guy and has the ability to take people in." ■

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A Dip into a Think Tank

Researchers at SRI look for society's newest trends

When corporations want insights into the sort of economic and social conditions in which they will have to do business in six months' or even six years' time, they often turn to one of several think tanks that specialize in looking over the horizon. A leader in the field is SRI International in Menlo Park, Calif., which helped Merrill Lynch develop its innovative Cash Management Account that combines checking, brokerage and credit cards services. Founded in 1946 in cooperation with nearby Stanford University and formerly named the Stanford Research Institute, SRI has been independent since 1970. It numbers among its corporate clients such major firms as IBM, General Foods and Fluor.

Once a month, a special group of 18 top SRI professionals in fields as varied as urban planning, chemistry and energy meet to mull the future in a paneled conference room overlooking a leafy courtyard. The program goes by the acronym of TEAM, *which stands for Trend Evaluation and Monitoring.* TIME *Correspondent Michael Moritz last week became the first reporter ever permitted to attend an SRI brainstorming session. His report:*

"What in the world are Langmuir Blodgett films?" asked Beth Hiseler, senior office assistant. The question stumped her 17 colleagues for a few moments, but the discussion leaped to life when Chemical Engineer Russell Phillips explained that the name refers not to some new foreign movie director but rather to thin layers of organic matter that might some day be used to convert solar energy to electricity. The explanation spurred another scientist, Nevin Hiester, to point out that Langmuir Blodgett films are still too expensive for widespread use in industry.

At the far end of the room stood James Smith, manager of Business Environment Scanning. Listening to the exchange, he observed that the group has been hearing more and more about such exotic-sounding materials lately. This prompted another TEAM member, Joseph Grippo, a senior management consultant at SRI, to ask: "Shouldn't we be doing more materials research?"

Within a couple of months, SRI's thoughts on Langmuir Blodgett films will probably be discussed in *Scan*, a tightly written bimonthly summary of the SRI meetings. Some 475 U.S. and foreign corporations pay $12,000 yearly to subscribe to SRI's business intelligence program and to receive the eight-page *Scan* reports. The next issue of the pamphlet is also likely to contain articles on competition from Japan, the economic and social implications of the "information society," and the growing public antagonism about violent crimes by youth.

Agenda items for the meeting start with SRI's field staff, which constantly scours magazines, newspapers and scholarly journals for articles pointing toward social and economic change ahead. Some of the journals can be found on almost any newsstand, but others are more obscure. Examples: *Futurist*, a bimonthly published by the World Future Society, and the *Hastings Center Report*, which examines issues concerning ethics and the natural sciences. A week before TEAM met in Menlo Park, summaries of 88 articles were distributed to the group's members. Subjects in last week's packet of clippings ranged from an *Asia 2000* report on the impact of nuclear power plant radiation on the spiderwort plant, to a British magazine story that Lufthansa Airlines is now using trains instead of planes on some routes in West Germany.

As the session developed, TEAM members found plenty to fret about. Somebody was worried about the significance of peace protests in Western Europe. Another was bothered by the long-term growth prospects for California if special education is cut out of state spending. Yet another was concerned about attempts in Ohio to levy a state sales tax on services.

The free-flowing nature of the sessions does have certain drawbacks. Corporate clients have sometimes been reluctant to adopt the group's recommendations, complaining that the topics themselves are often banal or irrelevant. Even so, SRI can point to some impressive successes. SRI's brainstorming technique zeroed in early on the nationwide trend toward home health care and quickly held seminars on the subject. In addition, TEAM sessions in the spring of 1980 focused on the rightward political lurch in the U.S. and the growth of religious fundamentalism.

Throughout last week's session the group members returned again and again to one topic that fascinates them all: the public uneasiness with computers and their impenetrable complexity. Some members noted that so-called fail-safe computers that are never supposed to break down have recently been much in the news. Others recalled the computer-caused hiccups in the second launch of the space shuttle two weeks ago.

Gradually the discussion broadened into the increasing complexity of business and society. One member pointed out that econometric models, with their hundreds of equations, do not seem able to predict economic activity with reliability any more. Indeed, in recent months more and more companies have begun to pay less attention to the once highly regarded forecasts. Someone else recalled a comment by Reagan's Budget Director David Stockman that no one in the Administration really understands what is going on in the economy. Concluded Urban Affairs Specialist Thomas Fletcher: "People aren't as intelligent as the systems they're managing." There were no final solutions or quick answers at the end of the meeting, but a month from now the same group will again come together and try to find patterns and trends in an ever more confusing world. ■

A meeting of the TEAM group last week in the paneled conference room of the organization's headquarters in Menlo Park, Calif.

From Langmuir Blodgett films to the effects of radiation on the spiderwort, the scholars try to spot key social and economic changes.

Golden Touches Turned to Lead

American investments by many foreign firms become losers

Not since the days of Columbus, Cortés and Cartier has America had such allure for fortune seekers from abroad. Throughout the turbulent 1970s more and more Europeans, Japanese and even Arabs looked to the U.S. as a haven of political stability and the world's biggest, most lucrative marketplace. A cheap dollar in relation to their strong currencies made American ventures all the more attractive. Foreign investment in U.S. firms has surged from $13.2 billion in 1970 to $65.5 billion last year.

The success stories that inspired the flood of capital are legion and legendary. France's Baron Marcel Bich, for example, bought the Waterman Pen Corp. in 1958 for $2.5 million and built it into the flourishing Bic Pen Corp. with annual sales of $200 million.

But many foreigners are learning that America's streets of gold can also be pitted with peril. Says Herbert Jacobi, a partner in West Germany's Berliner Handels und Frankfurter Bank: "Many Europeans do not realize that America is the land of economic Darwinism. Some of them are going to fall flat on their faces."

James Wood

Foreign investors have indeed suffered a string of spectacular flops to match their successes. In many cases they bought unprofitable, badly managed U.S. companies at giveaway prices with blithe confidence that their European ways would make the problems disappear. Such familiar firms as A & P and Korvette's lost millions for their European owners.

The failures are concentrated in retail trade. Explains Stephen Sahlein, contributing editor of the *Investment/U.S.A.* newsletter: "U.S. investments generally pay off when the foreign company brings in technical expertise and leaves the marketing to Americans. The investments that did not work were aimed directly at the American consumer." Foreign businessmen are unaccustomed to the ethnic diversity in the U.S., where blacks, Hispanics and Chinese are as ubiquitous as the Irish and Italians. Overseas investors are often unprepared for the competitiveness of the American market, in which promotion and image are crucial. European companies have acquired 21 major U.S. retailers since 1973, but only two of these foreign firms have earned large U.S. profits: Belgium's Delhaize-Le Lion group, which owns Food Town grocery stores, and Britain's Cavenham, which bought the Grand Union supermarket chain.

The Tengelmann group, West Germany's largest grocery chain, was less fortunate. Two years ago it bought control of the once proud Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Co. and has so far lost $75 million on its investment. The American chain had been limping along for years mainly because it had gained a reputation for selling low-priced and low-quality merchandise. But the new German owners made matters worse. They converted many A & P outlets into so-called box stores, which are small, streamlined operations stocked usually with heavily discounted products from A & P's own factories rather than bestselling national brands. This strategy had worked well at Tengelmann stores in West Germany, but in the U.S. the company found its golden touch turned to lead.

James Wood, A & P's new chairman, now admits that the box stores were a mistake. Tengelmann hired Wood, an Englishman, away from the profitable Grand Union chain. Says he: "The mistake we foreigners often make is to judge the U.S. on the basis of what we know about Europe. Americans want a fuller range of products from a supermarket than people on the other side of the water."

Reinhard Mohn

Miscalculation of the American consumer tastes was also costly for Bertelsmann Corp., the huge West German publishing conglomerate headed by Reinhard Mohn. In 1979 the firm launched an American version of its glossy *Geo*, a magazine similar to *National Geographic* but with a more downbeat style. Instead of sprightly features on seals, *Geo* printed stories of bloody dogfights and deprivation in Poland. After losing $35 million, Bertelsmann sold *Geo* to Los Angeles-based Knapp Communications two months ago. It will reappear as a frothy travel magazine.

French-owned Korvette's, a once thriving New York City-area department store chain, is now bankrupt. Korvette's was bought three years ago by the four Willot brothers, who also own the giant Au Bon Marché department store in Paris and the Christian Dior fashion business. The Willots installed as Korvette's president an autocratic French manager named Alain Mathieu, who made poor marketing decisions. Korvette's clothes, for instance, were too expensive for discount shoppers and too pedestrian for the fashion-minded. The Willots' total loss: $120 million.

In one case, a U.S. investment drove a parent European company into bankruptcy. In 1976 Dunbee-Combex-Marx, a British toymaker, bought Louis Marx & Co., a troubled American counterpart, from Quaker Oats for $15 million. Overwhelmed by $110 million in debts run up by Marx, Dunbee collapsed last year.

Despite the perils of investing in the U.S., the inflow of foreign capital remains a torrent. Foreign executives fear for the safety of investments in their home countries. Europeans, in particular, are leery of Soviet expansionism and strong tendencies for ever more state control or union domination of business in France, The Netherlands and other nations.

Hugo Mann, a wealthy West German retailer, is typical. Since 1975 he has invested almost $110 million in FedMart, a lackluster variety-store chain in the Southwest. Mann looks upon his acquisition as vital insurance. Says he: "America is the land of enterprise. If ever I can't go on in Germany, I'll just buy a ticket to the U.S." —*By Charles Alexander. Reported by Frederick Ungeheuer/New York*

France's Willot brothers: a hit in Paris but a flop in New York City

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Fast Food Feast

Here come the McRibs

Although McDonald's, the fast-food giant based in Oak Brook, Ill., boasts that it has sold more than 35 billion hamburgers since its founding in 1955, the chain's fastest-growing offering in recent years has been its breakfast menu, which features eggs and pancakes and accounts for 18% of sales. The firm is also touting McChicken, a fried chicken sandwich that will be on sale in 60% of the chain's 6,500 units by year's end. Rival Burger King is now selling a sandwich-style version of veal parmigiana. And Jack in the Box has a growing line of Supreme sandwiches, including ham, bacon, lettuce and tomato garnished with alfalfa sprouts and served on whole wheat bread.

After 25 years of spectacular growth, U.S. fast-food eateries number 100,000, or one for every 2,300 Americans. But the chains must increasingly develop new products to set themselves off from the pack and boost sales. The public wants more variety and quality. To build evening dining traffic, some Burger King restaurants in California and other states are offering candlelight dinners on cloth-covered tables.

Hamburger sales are suffering because of the calorie-conscious American public's desire to eat less beef. At almost all of the 2,180 Wendy's, for example, there are now salad bars, which have been big attractions for dieters.

Some industry analysts on Wall Street believe changing customer tastes and growing competition will mean the end to the fast-food boom. Says Roger Lipton, head of restaurant research for Ladenburg, Thalmann & Co.: "What America doesn't need is another hamburger or taco stand. The days of the industry's phenomenal profits and unlimited growth potential are gone."

Yet fast-food executives insist that there is no need for pessimism. They concede that high interest rates have generally slowed expansion, but point out that profits are still growing at a respectable 15% to 20% a year. Indeed, for the third quarter McDonald's reported record earnings of $76 million, a gain of 19% over last year. Increases were also reported by Kentucky Fried Chicken, the second largest American chain in sales, as well as by Wendy's and Burger King. And to keep sales up, McDonald's has prepared still another addition to its menu, a barbecued pork sandwich, which is being tested in 65 restaurants. The firm that produced the Big Mac, the Egg McMuffin, McChicken and Chicken McNuggets has named the new pork sandwich McRib. ■

Dividends

Computer Games

Critics say that economists know the price of everything and the value of nothing. But Paul M. Sommers, an economist at Vermont's Middlebury College who seems to know both, is arguing that baseball owners who have paid huge prices for free agents have got value for their money. Assistant Professor Sommers concluded this after studying the original 25 free agents of 1976. Included were Outfielder Reggie Jackson, Relief Pitcher Rollie Fingers and several stars hampered by injuries in the ensuing year. Sommers' key finding: the free agents more than earned their keep during the season that followed their signing. Jackson, for example, was easily worth the $400,000 salary that the New York Yankees paid him.

Sommers used an econometric model to measure the "marginal revenue product" of the players. He fed such facts as the players' on-field performance plus the attendance at home games and the number of hot dogs sold at the ballpark into a computer that measured costs against income. The study, to appear next year in the *Journal of Human Resources*, showed that five of the top 14 players brought in nearly triple their annual salary in extra earnings for the owners. Yogi Berra probably never talked to Casey Stengel about his "marginal revenue product," but Yankee Owner George Steinbrenner undoubtedly understands. Says he: "You measure a ballplayer's value by how many fannies he puts in the seats."

Ticket Away

There is only one thing worse than having a car towed away for parking violations: getting the automobile back after it has been taken by police. The process can consume an entire day and involve almost as much hassle and humbling as being drummed out of the regiment. Endless hours must be spent in lines leading to sometimes abusive traffic-court clerks who treat parking offenders as if they were homicide suspects. Policemen and judges often heap scorn on a miscreant. Tow-truck operators can be just as surly.

Now entrepreneurs in Washington, D.C., and Boston are prepared to absorb these slings and arrows for scofflaws. For annual charges, including membership fees, representatives of Washington's Humiliation Elimination and Boston's Ticket Away will pay fines and drive owners to their cars, charging the entire cost to the customer's credit card. In Washington, parking offenders can sip champagne in a chauffeured limousine as they are taken to their lost vehicles at the D.C. department of transportation's impoundment lot. Said a gratified user of the Boston service: "Not only did it save me a day's work, it probably saved my job."

Eye Contact

Some might see it as horsing around, but making contact lenses for horses is a serious business for Optech Inc. of Honolulu. The animals are often prey to eye maladies, and veterinarians find it hard to medicate the equine eye. One possible solution: fit the horse with soft, noncorrective lenses that can hold needed medication against the eyeball. Drugs put in the eye are normally washed away in seconds by the animal's natural tears.

Optech has fitted out some 50 horses, but any profit from the venture is still a gleam in the eye of Owner Stephen A. Dunn. Says he: "I've been supplying the lenses free and getting information in exchange while developing the whole program. We're planning to go to market early next year."

Dunn recently went beyond his depth, though, while trying to help a 7-ft.-long shark at San Francisco's Steinhart Aquarium. The shark, a creature of the lightless deep, was in pain near the surface. Dunn tried a pair of colored contacts that did not help, and the fish died between fittings. But Dunn still has the lenses and is hoping to find another shark.

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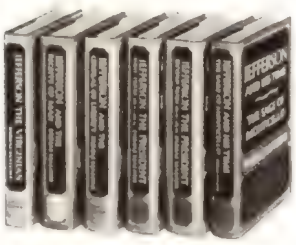

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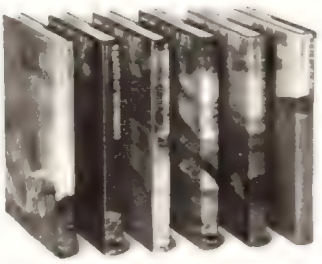

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People

As Esmerelda, the gypsy temptress in the CBS-TV *Hallmark Hall of Fame* treatment of **Victor Hugo's** *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*, British Actress **Lesley-Anne Down,** 27, bounces through enough personal crises to earn her a guest spot on **Phil Donahue's** show. During the two-hour special, to be aired next year, she is arrested, hauled off to the Bastille, kidnaped, ravished and accused of being a witch. In the gallows scene Lesley-Anne was forced to stand with a noose around her neck and her hands tied behind her back while she balanced atop a two-foot-high stool on a platform 15 feet above the ground. All this while Quasimodo, the hunchback bell ringer, played by **Anthony Hopkins,** 43, clumsily scrambled about trying to free her. "Anthony is no stunt man," says Lesley-Anne, "and the makeup job left him with just one eye open. I'm still having choking dreams."

■

The future seemed anything but rosy for **Louis** ("the Light Bulb") **Eisenberg.** He was 53 years old, making $225 a week replacing bulbs in a Manhattan office tower and commuting by subway from a 2½-room apartment in Brooklyn that he shared with his wife **Bernice.** Then Lou strung together a number—31422242529, from childhood—and gambled $1 on New York's Lotto game. Two days later Eisenberg learned he had won $5 million, reportedly the largest lottery prize in history. His first reaction: "Fifty-three years I'm eating bread, and I want to eat cake." For a guy like Lou, though, old habits die hard. After he won, he ambled into work, said nothing and resumed his normal routine, deciding to quit only after he asked himself: "What kind of a nut am I? Who walks around screwing in light bulbs that's a millionaire?"

■

President **Ronald Reagan** talked successful turkey last week in the White House Rose Garden. Presented with a live 50-lb. bird that squawked and flapped and nearly drove members of the National Turkey Federation to cover, Reagan hovered anxiously until calm was restored. Then the President, who had scored zero on a recent turkey shoot, patted his gift and dressed him down. "Look," he said, "I had a chance to shoot a bunch of you the other day and I didn't."

Reagan with a flappable friend in the Rose Garden

Down cast in *Hunchback*

■

To former Secretary of State **Henry Kissinger,** 58, it seemed like old times. After watching a soccer match in Rio, Kissinger flew to Brasília, the capital, to deliver a university lecture. Some 300 protesting students pelted the lecture hall with eggs and tomatoes, and then pounded samba drums to taunt him. Hustled out by police into a paddy wagon, Kissinger took it all in stride: "I used to be a professor at Harvard, so I am used to this. But Brazilian students do have better rhythm."

■

Word last week from the northern Italian village of Merano came 41 moves into the 18th game of the 30th World Chess Championship. Challenger **Victor Korchnoi,** 50, conceded his final defeat to defending Champion **Anatoli Karpov,** 30, six games to two with ten draws. The pair, known to chess fans as "K-2," traded off-court insults during much of their 51 days of play. Soviet *Wunderkind* Karpov takes home $280,000. Korchnoi, a defector from the U.S.S.R., $170,000. A nice check, mates.

By E. Graydon Carter

$5 million Lottery Winner Eisenberg with Wife Bernice and Mother Ida

On the Record

Prince Charles, 33, after explaining to Bristol factory workers that his pregnant wife **Diana** could not join him because she had morning sickness: "I'm quite prepared to take full responsibility."

Diana, Princess of Wales, 20, feeling much better, and explaining where her husband **Charles** was, after a ceremony in which she switched on Christmas lights in Regent Square: "I've left him at home watching the telly."

Harnessed to deck, Engle runs in place

High Marks for a Solid Bird

Columbia *was fine, and so were the experiments aboard*

To Joe Engle and Richard Truly those dramatic 36 orbits in space must have seemed like a pleasure cruise compared with the postflight grilling they began last week at Houston's Johnson Space Center. Only a day after reaching earth they found themselves at a ceremonial breakfast with Vice President George Bush, who did a little probing of his own to find out what it was like to fly the shuttle (said Truly: "We were just getting the hang of it" when the flight ended). Next day the astronauts started nine days of more formal debriefings, answering the questions of their engineering colleagues, doing a stint in the flight simulator to check whether it accurately reflects what happens in space, and reporting to the space center's director, Christopher Kraft Jr. The preliminary verdict: in spite of problems before and during the flight, *Columbia* was, in that venerable NASA expression, A-O.K.

Unlike the first flight, no tiles were lost. The hot, jolting shock at lift-off had apparently been sufficiently dampened by the new water system so that *Columbia's* heat-shielding devices escaped unscathed. A handful of tiles were nicked by debris, and half a dozen more on the starboard wing were inexplicably stripped of their surface glazing. Otherwise, the 100-ton orbiter survived magnificently, even weathering the bold maneuvers—much wilder than anything attempted by the first crew—that Engle put his bird through during the fiery descent. As the orbiter's stubby wings and flared fuselage began getting lift from the thin air in the upper atmosphere, he threw the ship into a sharp 80° bank and worked its big body flap to the limit, pulling the nose up in a series of porpoising motions.

Columbia emerged from its radio blackout nearly 30 miles off course and some 3,000 ft. lower than the flight plan called for. But Engle and Truly found the ship surprisingly aerodynamic, even without an engine. With only occasional assists from their little thruster rockets, they were able to get it quickly back on course. Such responsiveness certainly delights Chris Kraft. Says he: "We gained a great deal more confidence in the flying capability of this machine. We're beginning to prove our belief that it will perform as advertised."

The researchers who assembled *Columbia's* scientific experiments were just as pleased. Even though the abbreviated flight gave them less data than a longer one might have provided, NASA Geologist James Taranik described the experimenters as "literally jumping up and down with excitement over what they have seen." All five of the automatic experiments perched in the shuttle's open cargo bay worked, at least to some degree, performing various types of remote-sensing of the earth. The most successful machine was the big shuttle imaging radar, called SIR-A, which succeeded in making the longest single radar sweep in the history of earth-sensing, gathering one series of pictures over a 10,000-mile-long track, stretching from Spain to Australia.

The only real disappointment was the sunflower experiment in the cabin. The seeds sprouted in their little vials, but because the time in space was cut short, they did not grow enough to reveal whether or not their "inner senses" had been disturbed by zero gravity. If the photographs of Engle and Truly happily exercising in space are any indication, the astronauts, both military test pilots, did not seem to have any trouble adjusting to weightlessness.

In Houston, Vice President Bush not only lavished praise on the astronauts but said that "the people here at the NASA complex are a national treasure." What he did not mention is that this treasure may soon be removed to Florida. According to *Aviation Week & Space Technology*, NASA is thinking of consolidating launch and mission-control facilities at Florida's Kennedy Space Center as early as 1984. A few years ago, a congressional study rejected a similar scheme as impractical. It may still be impolitic. Texans, who were awarded the manned space center, in large part because of Lyndon Johnson's clout, are not likely to give up so valuable a prize without a fight. —*By Frederic Golden. Reported by Sam Allis/Houston and Jerry Hannifin/Washington*

Columbia, photographed from chase plane. Below: Truly tangles with teleprinter copy

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The excavations in Athens, with the Temple of Hephaistos in the background

Steps of the Stoa

Archaeologists uncover a cornerstone of democracy

So far, little is visible: a few steps and some foundation stones. But those seemingly insignificant remnants of a long-gone building resonate still and represent the most important such archaeological find to come out of Greece in the last decade. American and Greek scholars are now certain that they have found Athens' famous Painted Stoa—one of the buildings in which democracy was born 2,500 years ago. "There are no doubts in our minds that this is it," said on-site Archaeologist John Camp last week.

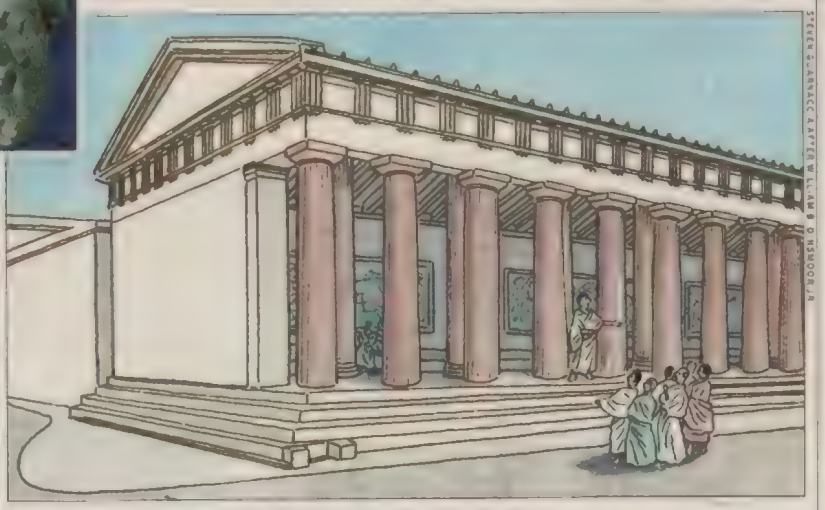
Built around 460 B.C., the Painted Stoa—or Stoa Poikile, as it is also called—was the first important new structure to rise from the ashes of the great Persian invasion, two decades before. It was set in the northwest corner of the Agora, Athens' civic center and marketplace, and soon became a site where all classes, including slaves, could mix and discuss the issues of the day. Made of limestone, the building had an open, colonnaded front and was closed on the other three sides, providing shade in summer, shelter in winter. There was always a spectacle to attract an audience. The Roman writer Apuleius once watched a sword swallower who "devoured a hunting spear point first until it penetrated deep into his vitals."

One of six stoas in the Agora, the Painted Stoa received its popular name when the greatest artists of the time were commissioned to decorate it with murals depicting great mythical and historical battles. The Stoa Poikile thus served as a gallery of fine arts, a war memorial and an architectural model that encouraged a free-flowing exchange of people and ideas.

"The style of architecture was ideally suited to the Mediterranean climate and to the personality of the people," says T. Leslie Shear Jr., director of the dig for the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. "All of this works together in a kind of peculiar chemistry that produces great civilizations." The structure also gave its name to a whole school of philosophy, Stoicism. Within its walls, Zeno argued that nothing matters but virtue and calm reason, and that even emotions should be disregarded by rational men.

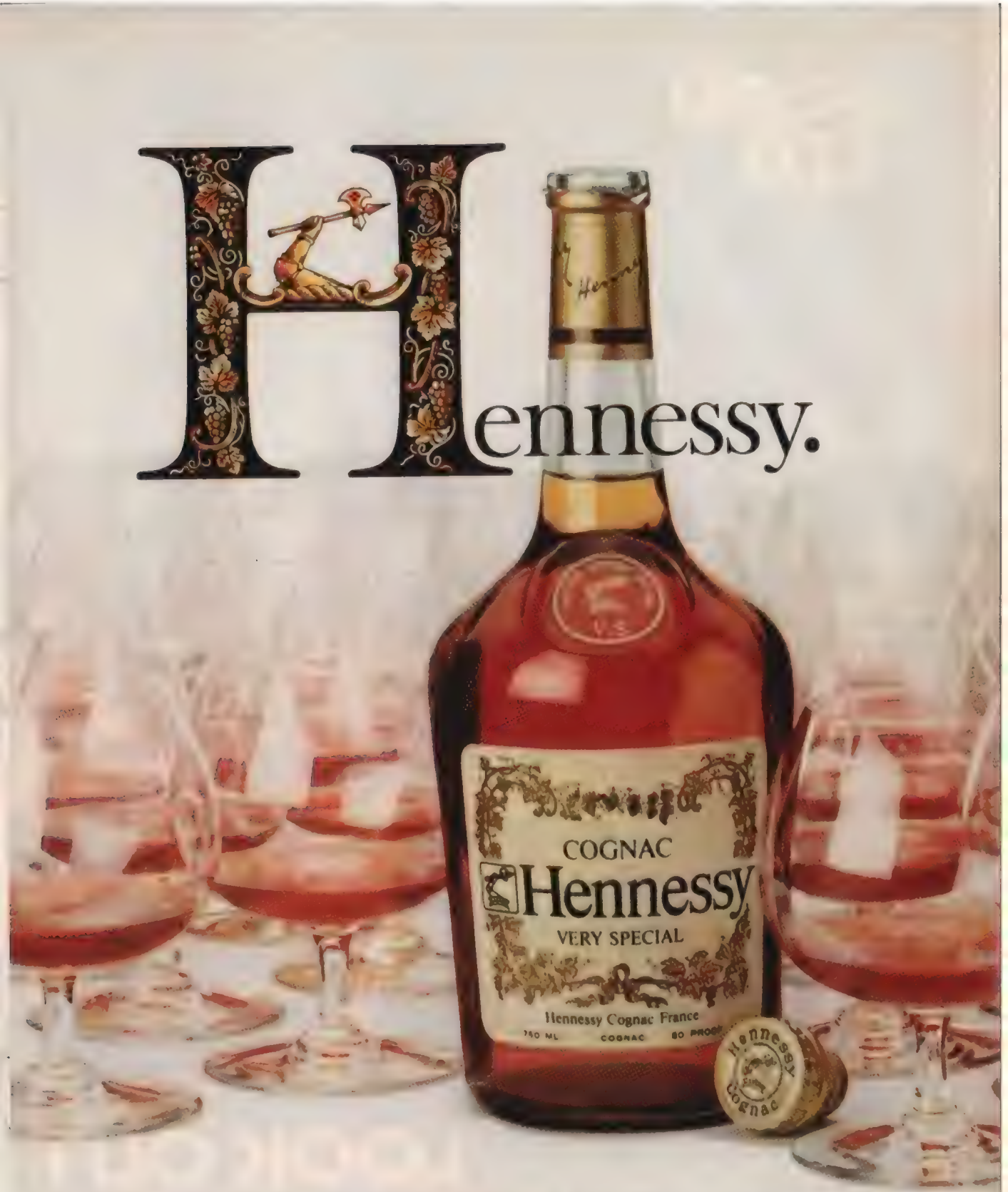
The American School, which is now celebrating its centenary, began excavating the Agora 50 years ago, when the Greek government, which has collaborated in the venture, expropriated the small private houses that had been built on top of it. They were torn down, and layer after layer of older buildings were slowly removed, revealing finally the foundations of the ancient buildings and monuments. It was only three years ago, however, that the government finally took over a flour mill at the northwest corner. Soon the team began turning up pieces of ancient columns and other fragments. One such find: a splendid 500 B.C. marble head from a herm, the ubiquitous pedestal monuments used in antiquity to guard building entrances. "We knew that we had hit pay dirt, so to speak," says Shear. And indeed just under the herm's head, the diggers' cautious shovels first struck the Painted Stoa in August.

"There are many wonderful things, and nothing more wonderful than man," said Sophocles, and the Painted Stoa is tangible evidence of those days of wonder at the beginning of Western civilization. "Nothing except technology has changed in the 2,500 years since," says Camp. "Athens was the birthplace of everything—Western philosophy, architecture, drama, parts of our legal system and democracy. It was the focal point of civilization, and it all happened right here, in 40 acres." Says Archaeologist Homer A. Thompson, an earlier supervisor of the dig: "We don't have many treasures of gold and silver to show. But we have been able to recover the setting of ancient Athenian life." That is more than treasure enough. —*By Gerald Clarke. Reported by Mirka Gondicas/Athens and Denise Worrell/New York*



Marble head of a herm and artist's rendering of the Stoa Poikile

Free-flowing ideas and the peculiar chemistry of great civilizations.



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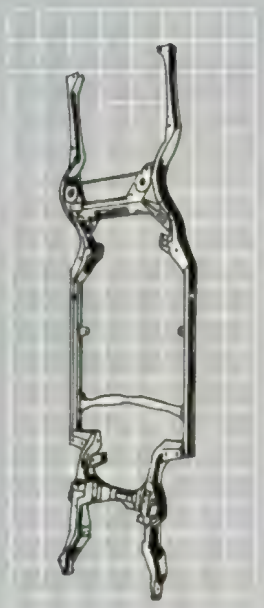

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IT'S FOR YOU

At the Virginia Military Institute students line up to study the "rat bible," a book of cadet commandments

RINMONTH—VIRGINIAN-PILOT

Education

Those All-Male Alma Maters

A handful of U.S. colleges that didn't go coed

It is homecoming day at Virginia's Hampden-Sydney College, and the playing field, ironically called Death Valley, is alive with the old-fashioned spirit of amateur competition. No TV cameras or pro scouts here. Sprawling on the sidelines, students and alumni sip beer, bloodies and bourbon as the home-town Tigers are tamed 7-6 by the Generals from Washington and Lee. It seems a perfect postcard of an all-American scene. But look a little closer. A few details are amiss. The pep band in the stands has only male members. There is not a curvy cheerleader in sight.

Welcome to a world where only men are usually welcomed. Hampden-Sydney (enrollment: 770) and Washington and Lee (1,332) are among the nation's oldest colleges. The first was established six months before the Declaration of Independence; among its founding fathers: James Madison and Patrick Henry. The second, dating from 1749, was endowed by George Washington himself and later headed by Confederate General Robert E. Lee.

Both schools are proud of their traditions and uncommonly true to them. They have never gone coed or been closely affiliated with a women's college. Today, only three other secular, four-year liberal arts colleges can make the same claims: Wabash College (enrollment: 780) in Crawfordsville, Ind., and two state-supported military schools, the Citadel in Charleston, S.C., and Virginia Military Institute in Lexington, Va.

All five are survivors of the 1960s sexual revolution in education, which was powered by the women's movement and the notion that coeducation provides a more "natural" setting for learning. One male bastion after another opened its doors to female students: Yale, Dartmouth, Princeton, eventually even West Point. For the remaining handful of all-male schools, the next few years were very hard indeed. Washington and Lee, in 1978, had to accept 70% of its applicants to fill a class of 380, and the average SAT test scores for entering freshmen were at a low point. The war in Viet Nam and pacifism at home made things even worse for military-oriented institutions. The Citadel almost closed down one of its four barracks in 1974. At V.M.I., Admissions Director Colonel William Buchanan concedes, "the bottom fell out."

The outlook for the all-male colleges is far brighter today. At Washington and Lee, applications are up 40% since 1978. The Citadel has seen a 63% increase in a single year. Quality of incoming freshmen has also improved. At V.M.I., for instance, the average 1981 combined SAT score has jumped to 1,048—36 points higher than it was a decade ago and well above the national average of 890. This fall 18 National Merit Scholars matriculated at Washington and Lee; three years ago there were only three.

How did they do it? "By holding the line," snaps Colonel Dennis Nicholson, a vice president of the Citadel. "We didn't alter a thing." Academically that is true. What most of the five schools did do, however, was to sell prospective students and parents harder on the traditional virtues of the small, all-male college. Among them: a teacher-student ratio of 12 to 1 or better, a conservative curriculum (Hampden-Sydney was the last U.S. college to drop its classical language requirement) and sport programs in which, as W. & L. Admissions Director Bill Hartog puts it, "you don't have to weigh 250 pounds and run a four-second 40-yard dash to play football."

Harder to define, but powerful, is the pull of fraternal camaraderie. "The guys at all-guys' schools seem a lot closer," observes W. & L. Junior Sparky Anderson. Others enjoy maintaining a certain formality, sartorial and otherwise, with the opposite sex. Says Art and Politics Major Steve Andrews: "I like the idea that when a girl walks on campus, she's wearing a skirt."

BOB JONES

Hampden-Sydney Professor Alan Farrell enjoys full student attention

Ease and a lack of sexual tension from Monday to Friday night.

Those seeking the rigors of a military education express relief at being able to "forget about girls and the outside world," as Harry Bitzberger, president of the V.M.I. graduating class puts it. Says he: "There are enough strains on you here already." Indeed, V.M.I. students are still expected to toe the traditional rat line, a punishingly rigid code of behavior made famous by the 1938 movie *Brother Rat* (featuring Ronald Reagan). The Citadel has only slightly eased its own version of the code. At meals, for example, freshmen, or "knobs," are no longer required to sit at attention and request each helping from an upperclassman.

Despite their apparent comeback, debate on whether or

not to admit women continues, though less hotly at the two military schools. There, cadets tend to agree with a vehement V.M.I. official: "There is no such thing as a Sister Rat, and there never could be." At the other schools, opinion is divided. By one estimate, 60% of the students at Wabash are against coeducation, the faculty is split evenly, and alumni are 95% opposed.

Washington and Lee Religion Professor Lou Hodges is among those who are "now and forever hoping that we would become coed." At all-male colleges, contends Hodges, "women are seen as a source of entertainment and pleasure, something one consumes as one consumes sports cars." Hodges also believes that women make a positive contribution in the classroom, both because they add to the diversity of viewpoints and, he says, because they tend to take their schoolwork more seriously than men. Hampden-Sydney Junior Tom Robinson agrees: "All-male schools breed bigots and chauvinists."

These points are disputed by the defenders of unisex education on grounds that coeducation provides the wrong sort of competition in class, and too much sexual distraction elsewhere. Argues Hampden-Sydney Professor Alan Farrell: "You cannot deal with abstractions in the presence of your sexual half." Biology Professor William Shear was a staunch proponent of coeducation when he came to Hampden-Sydney. Now he is convinced that "good students are more likely to reach their potential" and shy ones to learn to express themselves, when there are no women around. Comments from a number of students seem to support Shear's view. "When there are girls in the classroom you're afraid to participate," says Hampden-Sydney Sophomore Mike Marousek. Adds Junior Chip Morton: "Here, you don't have to impress anybody."

Women's colleges also experienced difficulties during the coed revolution. But many of them survived because, unlike all-male schools, they had little trouble articulating a reason for being. Studies by Radcliffe's Matina Horner and others suggest that women do not have the same opportunities, or do as well academically, when they share classrooms with the opposite sex. The same may be true for men. Writes Educator Alexander Astin in *Four Critical Years:* "Students of both sexes become more academically involved, interact with faculty more frequently, show large increases in intellectual self-esteem."

At the heart of the debate, however, there may be as much sentiment as pedagogical fact. Hampden-Sydney President Josiah Bunting III speaks of "a certain ease, a familiarity, a want of sexual tension from Monday to Friday night that I find altogether healthy and inspiring." But he adds, "There are no data to prove that because a college is all-male then certain benefits accrue to its graduates." What it boils down to, he confesses, "is we like being all-male." ***—By Claudia Wallis. Reported by Anne Constable/Atlanta***

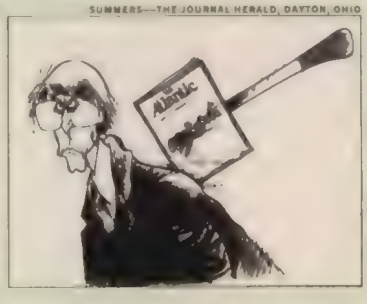
Press

Newswatch/Thomas Griffith

Adversaries or Willing Victims

If David Stockman survives in the Reagan Administration, it probably won't be because of the damage-limiting support he got from two conservative newspaper columnists. On David Brinkley's new ABC show, George F. Will predicted that "Stockman will come out of this as an enhanced asset" because the man who could testify one way to Congress and talk another way to a journalist friend who quoted him in the *Atlantic Monthly* had shown himself "open to evidence." Try telling that to a Congressman whose vote turned on believing Stockman's knowing deceptions the first time around. Or consider the reaction of Columnist William Buckley, who lapses into a worldly archness when someone on his side gets into trouble. "What is truly astonishing," Buckley wrote, "is that there should be such an astonishment" about Stockman's words; he had been guilty, at worst, only of using "here and there an unfortunate metaphor."

Whether or not Stockman keeps his job, the press's role in his troubles shouldn't get lost. Much is made—in movies, books and preening editorials—about the press's "adversary relationship" with government and arm's length distance from sources. But a surprising amount of the news, like the Stockman story, comes from deals cut between consenting adults. The press finds these transactions awkward to talk about because they smack of collusion. Stockman wanted attention called to how brilliantly he slashed the budget; William Greider of the Washington *Post* wanted and got a good article for the *Atlantic*. Stockman obviously didn't realize how cynical his recorded remarks to a friendly reporter would look in print. Most interviewing isn't prosecutorial; a sympathetic listener gets the best quotes. In Stockman's case, the cries of betrayal when candor proved disadvantageous were relatively muted and gentlemanly.



Any transaction, after all, had first to be agreeable to both sides. A vain Shah wanted Mike Wallace's vast audience to hear his imperious views, though knowing full well that in exchange there would also be tough Wallace questions about secret-police tortures. In the confessional world of check-out counter celebrity journalism, any show-biz figure courting publicity knows that one condition will be a lengthy exploration of his or her marriages and living arrangements. Only the inexperienced expect a journalistic transaction to be risk free. This includes intellectuals so disdainful of pop culture as to be innocent about it. Suddenly, in order to flog a book, they find themselves in a studio talking trivia with Merv or Kup or Mike, shedding their standoffishness and their standards to avoid looking pompous on-camera. They hadn't foreseen the need to appear lively on-camera, or interesting in print. The third party to the transaction—the anticipated watcher or reader—has to gain something from the interview too, which helps to keep the process honest.

Nowhere is transactional bargaining more volatile than on the Sunday network talk shows. A Senator or Cabinet member eager to be earnest about energy finds himself bumped for a Middle Eastern head of state ready to fly across the Atlantic just to *Face the Nation* or *Meet the Press*. Suppliants among politicians overnight become the sought-after when they become controversial. Timing can help or hurt. Stockman was to have been Brinkley's first guest on his ABC debut, then canceled out. With a gulp, a disappointed Brinkley conceded that Stockman was wise to lie low a while.

Another form of transactional journalism is to draw the cameras to something you wish to expose. Next time *60 Minutes* flags a little, play a game of transaction. Study who is questioned sympathetically, who is hassled, then figure out which investigator, Congressman, insurance commissioner or local librarian first alerted CBS to the story. The clues will be about the same as for those that govern newspaper leaks. As Lyndon Johnson once told Henry Kissinger: "I have one piece of advice to give you, Professor. Read the columnists, and if they call a member of your staff thoughtful, dedicated, or any other friendly adjective, fire him immediately. He is your leaker." That was in the days before Kissinger, as Secretary of State, became the most adroit leaker of them all.

Transactions—the press couldn't live without them.

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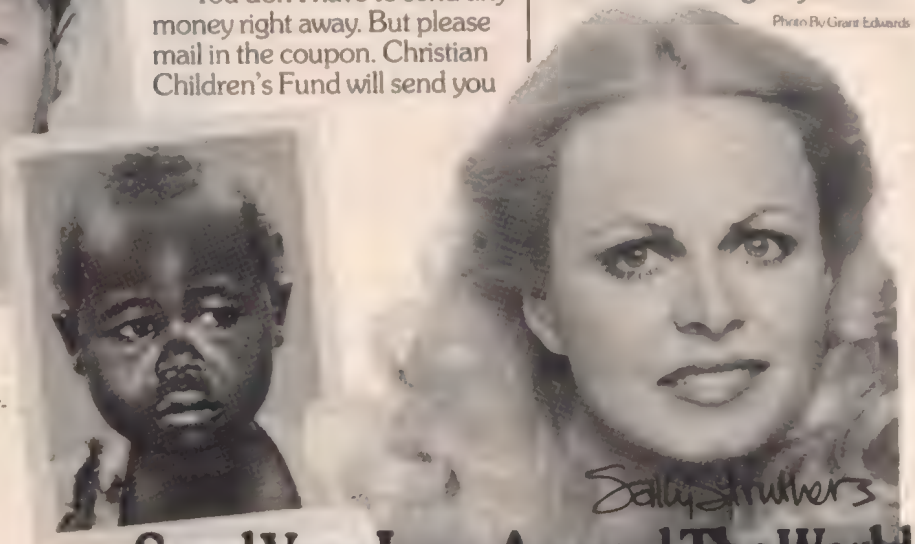
Photo By Grant Edwards



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The Battle of the Bottle

In Boston, a new law requires returnable soft drink containers

Revolted by a steadily increasing torrent of trash, Massachusetts environmentalists have lobbied for years to get a bill on the books requiring returnable beverage cans and bottles. Back in 1979, the first time they succeeded in getting a bill through the state legislature, Governor Edward King vetoed it. When the measure was passed again last September, King cast a second veto. But this time the state house of representatives overrode the veto. And last week the Massachusetts senate voted 29 to 10 to override the Governor too.

The new law, which will take effect in January 1983, is similar to those already on the books in Oregon (1972), Vermont (1973), Maine (1978), Michigan (1979), Iowa (1979), Connecticut (1980) and scheduled next summer for the state of Delaware. Consumers in Massachusetts will be required to pay a deposit of 5¢ on any beer or soda container holding less than 32 oz. and 10¢ on containers holding 32 oz. or more. Retailers have to pay full refunds on containers brought back to them within 60 days after purchase. But they in turn get back the deposit—plus a handling fee of 1¢ per container—when they return the returnables to wholesalers, distributors and bottlers.

Some bitter opponents of the Massachusetts bill, who had charged that the measure would eliminate jobs and increase the price of beverages, have moved quickly to make the best of a bad situation. Bruce Wright, president of the Massachusetts Wholesalers of Malt Beverages Inc., still claims that the new law will be costly to retailers and difficult to implement; nonetheless, he has already called on the association's members to comply. But last week the Massachusetts Beverage Industry and Labor Committee announced a drive to collect the 29,434 signatures necessary to get a referendum repealing the bill on next November's ballot. Their chance of success may be slight. When opponents of Maine's law managed to get a referendum on the ballot in 1979, the voters snowed them under by a vote of 226,076 to 41,802.

A returnable

And why not? Despite dire predictions, the experience of the states that have enacted them shows clearly that bottle bills work. Oregon, though it never has had a serious litter problem, is now virtually free of beverage litter. Vermont highway officials reckon that roadside container rubbish has been cut down by 76%. Litter has been reduced by 90% in Michigan's heavily used state parks, according to officials. But in some of its industrial areas the cleanup has cost hundreds of lost jobs in bottle factories and millions in lost tax revenues from bottle sales.

The Iowa department of transportation estimates that in one year their law cut the volume of container trash by 64%. Connecticut officials are just as enthusiastic. "It's wonderful," said Rocky Neck State Park Manager Albert Millane. "Normally this time of year, we'd find thousands and thousands of bottles after the weekends. Now, if we find 20 bottles a day, we're lucky." Maine officials estimate that they have saved $100,000 a year in cleanup costs since their law took effect. Other states report similar savings.

In Maryland, however, a ten-year battle has produced nothing but deadlock. Every time environmentalists offer a bottle bill, the opponents counter with a rival program. The latest is called the Beverage Industry Recycling Program—or BIRP—an educational plan to stimulate "voluntary" public cooperation. Voters in Ohio rejected a bottle bill in 1979 by an overwhelming 70% to 30%. Earlier this year, in the New York State legislature, a similar bill was nibbled to death by bottling company and labor lobbyists before it even got to the floor for a vote.

That kind of organized opposition seems likely to spread as pro-environmentalist Senators and Congressmen prepare to push for a national bottle bill. The AFL-CIO, which has regularly opposed state bottle bills, claims that a national law could eliminate up to 80,000 jobs, mostly in bottle factories.

Bottle-bill backers counter these arguments by citing a General Accounting Office study suggesting that a national bill would create at least as many jobs trucking and sorting bottles as they eliminate.

Returnable containers encourage the habit of saving, rather than waste. They have also already proved profitable, especially to citizens willing to pick up roadside litter and drag it to a nearby recycling station. Churches and schools now raise funds by organizing collection drives. So do individuals. Arthur Bush, 12, of Portland, Me., makes anywhere from $3 to $7 each time he devotes a few hours to rummaging for returnables in trash cans and parking lots; Adalbert ("Al") Politz, 56, of Bloomfield, Conn., made enough sorting through nearby Hartford's refuse last year to buy his son a Christmas present and give a handicapped friend $60 worth of knitting yarn. The Miller family of Portland, Ore., has found bottle collecting even more profitable. Foraging for Coke bottles along a state highway last February, they found 149 crisp $100 bills scattered by the road. When no one laid claim to the cash after six months, it was Miller time to the tune of $14,900. ***—By Peter Stoler. Reported by Joelle Attinger/Boston and Gary Lee/Washington***

At a recycling plant in Connecticut, an employee wrestles with bags full of empty cans

Despite dire predictions, clean streets, thrift and maybe a national law.

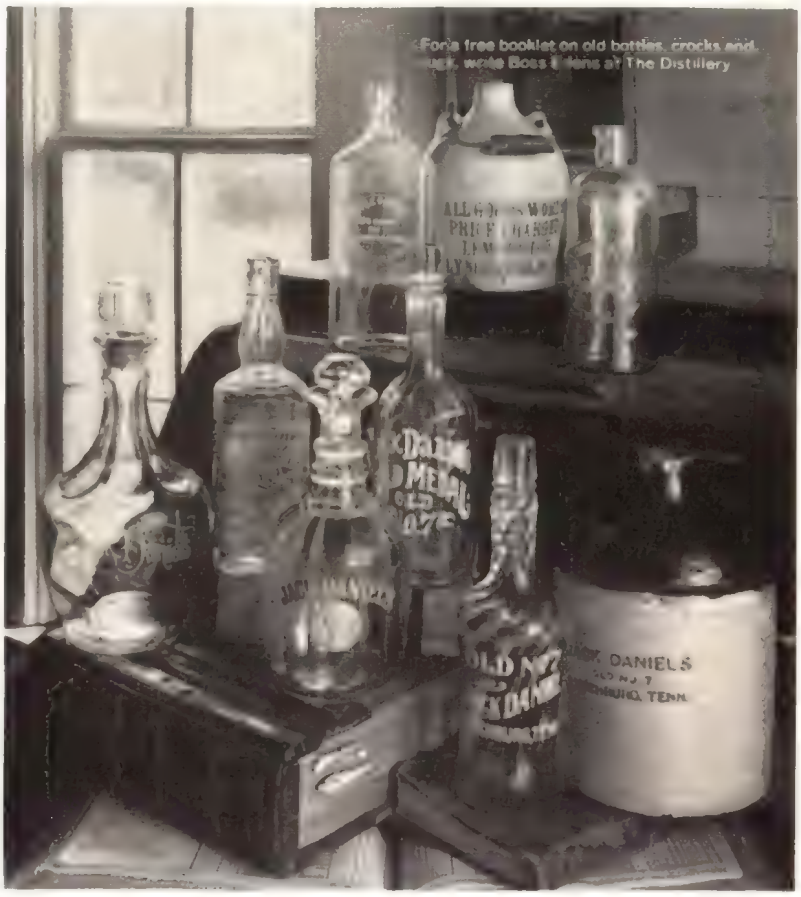
Capitan Clash

Watt vs. *Smokey Bear*

Secretary of the Interior James Watt does not like to paddle. He does not like to walk. But he does like to see the U.S. exploring for mineral resources, even if they happen to lie underneath those areas that Congress has declared protected wilderness, "where man himself is a visitor who does not remain." Environmentalists and their friends in Congress moved to forestall Watt earlier this year, when they used an obscure provision of the 1976 Federal Land Policy and Management Act to prevent oil and gas exploration in Montana's Bob Marshall Wilderness. But they did not move fast enough to protect another area, New Mexico's spectacular 34,000-acre Capitan Wilderness, which the Interior Department has quietly opened for oil and gas exploration. Last week Watt outflanked the environmentalists and avoided a congressional committee vote that could have reversed the decision and set back all his plans to "unlock" wilderness areas, at least for exploration.

The Capitan action was initiated last May when the U.S. Forest Service, which manages the mountainous area, home of the original Smokey Bear, made two Southern oil companies an offer they could not refuse: a chance to lease land within the area even though no environmental assessment about the effect of mineral exploration had been made. The companies were awarded three leases in September without any public announcement. It was not until earlier this month, when an official of the Wilderness Society discovered some documents pertaining to the agreement, that Washington became aware of Interior's actions. Environmentalists were outraged. So was Congressman Manuel Lujan Jr. of New Mexico, ranking Republican member of the House Interior Committee. To stymie Watt, Lujan introduced a resolution that would bar from future drilling not only the Capitan area but all 28 million acres of designated wilderness in the 50 states.

Secretary Watt moved just as fast. Late in the week, he met with Lujan and two other Republican committee members and promised them that no drilling would take place in any wilderness area until Congress had been notified and a full environmental assessment prepared. Lujan promptly withdrew his resolution and the threat to block future drilling. But environmentalists stirred other members of the committee into action. By 40 to 1, they called for a six-month moratorium on wilderness leasing to give Congress time to study Watt's new policies and, if necessary, write protective legislation. Meantime, the environmentalists may bring Interior to court over the Capitan deal. The two oil companies still hold leases that could permit them to drill in Smokey's own back yard. ■



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Jumping Genes

Honors to the Corn Lady

She is something of a scientific anachronism, and not because of her 79 years. Unlike most scientists at the famed biology laboratory in the small Long Island, N.Y., town of Cold Spring Harbor, she does not splice, cut or reshuffle the genes of viruses and bacteria. Rather, for the past four decades, Geneticist Barbara McClintock has been carefully breeding and crossbreeding corn, trying to cull from it some kernels of truth about the secrets of genetic diversity, just as the Austrian monk Gregor Mendel did in his famous pea patch more than a century ago. McClintock's colleagues, caught up in the latest wizardry of genetic engineering, have long marveled at the skill and diligence with which she pursued such classical genetics, but they were sometimes patronizing about her work. After all, it seemed totally out of the mainstream of molecular biology, today's hottest science.

The judgment was premature. In the twilight of her career, McClintock is suddenly being hailed as a scientific prophet. This year she has received eight awards, the richest and most prestigious just last week: a $60,000-a-year, tax-free, lifetime grant from Chicago's MacArthur Foundation and the Lasker prize for basic research, worth $15,000 and often a steppingstone to a Nobel Prize.

Few of McClintock's colleagues believed in her ideas when she first considered them in the 1940s. After majoring in biology at Cornell, and adding a botany Ph.D., she began methodically cultivating maize on a little plot near an inlet of Long Island Sound. McClintock, funded by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, kept careful watch over the kaleidoscopic changes of color in the leaves and kernels of corn from one generation to the next. The changes were produced by underlying modifications in genetic structure. At the time, though, no one understood how DNA was put together or how it worked. Indeed, only a few researchers were convinced it really was the molecule that carried heredity's message across the generations. The only signs of genetic change within the cell itself that McClintock could look for were such things as breaks or alterations in the cell's chromosomes, rodlike bodies that even then were known to be the residence of the elusive genes.

On some kernels, McClintock began finding curious, quirky patterns of pigmentation. A less imaginative scientist might have dismissed them as natural variations occurring at random. But through painstaking record keeping and careful analysis, McClintock discerned a method in nature's seeming madness. The pigment genes, those causing the splotches of color on the kernels, were somehow being switched off or on in a particular generation. Still more remarkable, the same "switches" often seemed to crop up a generation later at different places along the same chromosome or even on a totally different chromosome. Indeed, these mysterious "controlling elements," as McClintock called them, seemed to be available almost any place in the genetic machinery where they might be needed to turn genes on or off. Such moments come in particular during the early stages of a plant or animal's development, when one type of cell miraculously produces entirely different cells to form all the variegated tissue of the whole organism.

When McClintock formally unveiled her research in 1951, the prevailing wisdom was that genetic structure was stable and immutable. "They called me crazy, absolutely mad at times," she recalls. It was not until about ten years ago, when scientists were able to use the powerful new tools of genetic engineering, that they found the first indications that McClintock's transposable elements—actually bits of DNA —do move about. Such jumping genes, in fact, could turn out to provide significant insights into a number of major biological mysteries. These include not only the question of how whole organisms develop from single cells, but how entirely new species may arise—and even why some cells occasionally go berserk, as in the case of cancerous cells. Says Nobel Laureate James Watson, co-discoverer of DNA's architecture: "She is a very remarkable person, fiercely independent, beholden to no one. Her work is of fundamental importance." ■

Corn Geneticist Barbara McClintock
In changing colors a kernel of truth.

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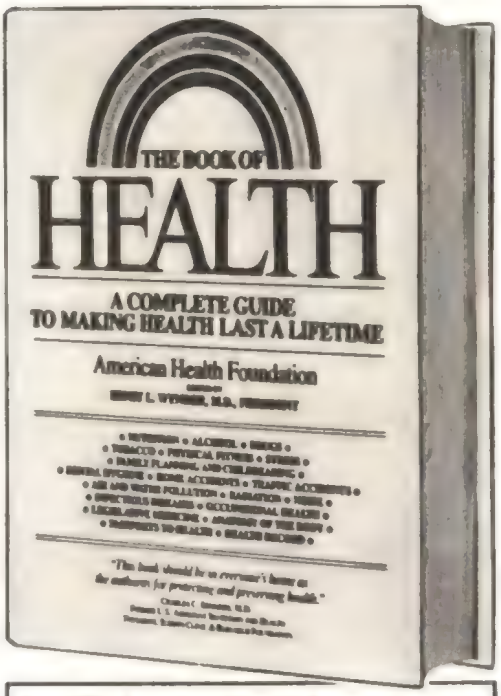

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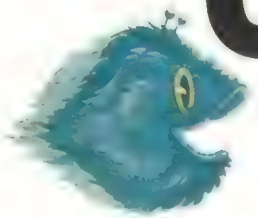

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Behavior

Nose Knows More Ways Than One

Smell spells love, hunger and higher heartbeats

Enough of Atkins, Stillman and Scarsdale. It may be that the Boring Diet works as well—or better. Scientists have long reasoned that if good taste and smell can increase appetite, terrible taste and odor, or one flavor eaten over and over, should be boring enough to decrease it. Last week, at an international conference on "The Determination of Behavior by Chemical Stimuli," a pair of biologists reported findings suggesting that any tedious diet helps weight loss. If it were possible to eat one food all the time, according to Israeli Nutritional Biochemist Michael Naim, all but the genetically obese would quickly shed pounds.

At Jerusalem's Hebrew University, Naim and French Neurobiologist Jacques Le Magnen spoke to a gathering sponsored by the European Chemoreception Research Organization, joining some two dozen other scholars who reported on such topics as the sniffing power of infants, the sex life of guinea pigs and a three-nation T shirt–smelling study.

Baby, before first feeding, reacts to smell of 1) banana, 2) fish, 3) butter, 4) rotten eggs

Le Magnen's work shows that when their diet is monotonous, rats eat only what they need, but overeat and become fat when fed a different flavor every 30 minutes. At the conference, he reported that the taste and smell of the food encouraged hunger and obesity by causing a reflexive increase in insulin. Le Magnen also reported evidence, in both rats and humans, that each new tasty food produces a conditioned insulin release. In other words, even if a varied meal and a one-food meal are equal in size and good taste, the varied meal may prove more fattening because it increases appetite. According to Naim, the best way for humans to lose weight may be to adopt a varied and revolting diet: food that is too sweet one day, too salty the next, or alternately bitter and sour.

Hebrew University Physiologist Jacob Steiner told the scientists that all tastes and smells accelerate the heart rates of adolescents. A sweet taste speeds the heart by 2% or 3%, bitter and sour tastes race the pulse 17% to 20% faster. Steiner, in long-term test studies of infants, discovered that first reactions to smells are inborn, not acquired. Newborns react positively to pleasant odors and screw up their faces in response to unpleasant ones, even before they have tasted any food at all.

Psychobiologist Gary Beauchamp of Philadelphia reported that the odor of female guinea pig urine is such a powerful stimulus to the male that it loses interest in mating if its sense of smell is impaired. When Beauchamp removed the male's vomeronasal organ, which relays odor information to the brain, sexual activity declined. In the wild, after the removal of the vomeronasal organ, even guinea pigs near their mates sometimes cannot find them.

The T shirt tests, conducted by West German Biologists Margret Schleidt and Barbara Hold, showed that men and women blindfolded could identify perspiration odors of their mates. Schleidt tested 75 couples in West Germany, Italy and Japan, asking them to wear cotton T shirts to bed for a week and avoid using perfumes or deodorants. In all three sets of tests, results were the same: subjects were generally able to sniff out the shirts worn by their mates, and both men and women considered male odors more unpleasant than female odors. But when women selected the shirts they thought belonged to their husbands, only the Japanese women labeled the odors more unpleasant than their own. Why should women of Japan be harsher on their husbands? Offering an unscientific but provocative hypothesis, Schleidt replied: "One reason may be that in Japan women's marriages are usually arranged." ■

Male guinea pig sniffs female scent

Without smell, he is unlikely to mate.

Having It Both Ways

Some glancing blows at affairs of the heart

Wanda: Ralph, what do Madame Bovary, Catherine the Great, Helen of Troy and Bathsheba have in common?

Ralph: They all went out with Warren Beatty?

Wanda: Simulate seriousness, Ralph. I am about to make a point: these illustrious women all had affairs while they were married, and I regard them as forerunners of today's dramatic increase in wives who fool around.

Ralph: Wanda, you've been reading sex books again.

Wanda: You bet, Ralph. Right here in Linda Wolfe's new book *The Cosmo Report*, a sex poll of 106,000 *Cosmopolitan* readers, it says "women's infidelity has been rising precipitously." And here's another new book, *Having It Both Ways, A Report on Married Women with Lovers*. Listen to the author, Elaine Denholtz: "Clearly an important sociological phenomenon is occurring. And it is outrageously absent from the literature."

Ralph: Tommyrot, my sweet. Everyone knows it's the husbands who bound around like randy chimps, not wives.

Wanda: I mean no disrespect, husband of mine, but your thickheaded chauvinism would embarrass even Norman Mailer. Facts are facts. In 1953 Kinsey found that 26% of wives had played around. Morton Hunt's report for *Playboy*, about 20 years later, set the figure at 12% to 24%. Then the *Redbook* survey the number rose to 29%—and now the *Cosmo* poll shows it's up to 54%. This is *science*, Ralph.

Ralph: From such bastions of scientific inquiry as *Playboy*, *Redbook* and *Cosmo*, Wanda, it's a known fact that 62.5% of folks who believe in sex polls also believe in the Easter Bunny. All you have to go on in these surveys is what people say, and we know from Freud and John Mitchell that what people say and what they do are two different things. Only the truly berserk blab about their sex lives to strangers, and that usually turns out to be a representative sample of the kind of air head who answers questionnaires in *Save the Whales Quarterly* or *Mud Wrestling Digest*.

Wanda: Deeply felt and wrenchingly rendered, Ralph. As Werner Erhard might say, I get it—you clearly feel threatened by the upsurge in sexual adventurousness in married women. And you have every right to be. Denholtz writes: "Affairs are and will be viewed with more compassion by the general public. Not approval, but understanding and sympathy." And Wolfe concludes: "Apparently . . . women now feel that infidelity, once chiefly a male province, is theirs to explore as well." Both books report that their women feel "entitled" to have affairs.

Catherine the Great by G.C. Grooth, 1748

Forerunners of the wives of today.

Ralph: That's because—

Wanda: No, no, sweetest. Before you launch into your standard speech on the Me decade, I have some news that might warm that stodgy heart of yours. It looks as though a lot of women are having these affairs for *conservative* reasons, to keep a marriage going until the kids grow up, or to create a crisis they hope will get the marriage back on track. Not that it works all that well, though. Wolfe did 66 interviews with straying wives for her 1975 book, *Playing Around*, and 21 of the women said the affairs were intended to preserve the marriage. But last year, she checked back. Only three of the 21 were still married.

Emma Bovary, in film, with Lover Léon Dupuis

Ralph: Maybe screwing around *doesn't* improve marriages.

Wanda: Don't be cynical, Ralph, or I will withhold the rest of the information that bolsters your sexist prejudices. Women don't often have affairs for sex. Unlike you men, ever eager to jump the secretary for an hour's sport, women are not primarily interested in sex, but in a relationship, holding, caring, romance.

Ralph: A stunning breakthrough in Western thought—

Wanda: Wolfe reports that revenge can be the motive, but more often loneliness and isolation push women into infidelity. They feel *psychologically* single. "Most women who have affairs while married," she says, "do so because they do not *feel* married. They cannot commit themselves entirely to their spouse." She quotes one woman saying she had an affair purposely to break the bonds of trust with a husband who had no sexual interest in her.

Ralph: Why didn't the wife just confront the husband or walk out?

Wanda: Why can't a woman be more like a man? Sex is communication. She was just sending her husband a message.

Ralph: Adultery is adultery is adultery.

Wanda: You are only slightly more judgmental than Torquemada, light of my life. As it happened, *Cosmo* women appear to agree with you. Four-fifths of the women disapprove of infidelity. Women having affairs often feel rotten about betraying their husbands, but they don't seem able to stop.

Ralph: Like Catherine the Great and Madame Bovary—

Wanda: Wolfe says, "The urge for sexual loyalty seems to be a powerful and omnipresent female yearning." Maybe a wife's affair will become a standard signal that a marriage is over.

Ralph: What about your friend Denholtz?

Wanda: I was afraid you were going to ask. She agrees that women do not play around for trivial reasons, but she considers her composite woman guilt-free, high energy, considerate, attractive, resourceful, practical, a take-charge person with a raised consciousness.

Ralph: Wow! If standards are that high for adultery, only three women a year will be eligible. Could it be that Wolfe and Denholtz are writing about two different countries?

Wanda: Social science is a multifaceted endeavor, Ralph, and the cogencies of human experience often remain elusive.

Ralph: Funny. That's what I was going to say.

—By John Leo

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A strategist of expression, Hepburn ranges from lofty contempt to girlish ardor in *Waltz*

Divine Right

THE WEST SIDE WALTZ
by Ernest Thompson

Katharine Hepburn is one of the few actresses in America who seem born to the blood royal. When she steps on a stage, she rules by divine right. The theater becomes a throne room, the playgoer a loyal subject. Her imperious gaze, manner and gestures command the bent knee and the silent gasp of awe.

She is overpowering even when her acting skills are not. She is a master strategist of expression. Her voice has a narrow range, yet her use of it encompasses dismissive contempt, romantic yearning, intellectual excitement, absolute shock, quivering pain, girlish ardor and the unbridled anger of Zeus.

It is lucky for Playwright Thompson, author of *On Golden Pond*, that Hepburn brings all her voices to his slight comedy, which is virtually tongue-tied as to passion and skimpily plotted. Hepburn plays Margaret Mary Elderdice, a widow of about 70, who is fiercely independent of mind but whose body is weakening. In the course of the play, physical declivity takes her from a cane to a walker to a wheelchair. Her lifeline is no longer in the palm of her hand.

Her apartment building is ailing as well. Once an elegant address on Manhattan's Upper West Side, it is now suffering from the not-so-benign neglect of the landlord. Margaret Mary's chief joy and solace is playing the piano, mostly Strauss and Chopin waltzes in tandem with a violin-playing "maiden lady" of about 50 named Cara Varnum (Dorothy Loudon). Both actresses "fake" their instruments stylishly.

A good soul, sexually repressed but with a quirky sense of humor, Cara would like nothing better than to move in with Margaret Mary for mutual care and companionship. With aloof hauteur, the widow indicates, as only Hepburn could, that Cara is non-U. Selfish, highhanded, unfeeling, Margaret Mary takes in a different roommate. Robin Bird (Regina Baff), a woman of about 30, is a Brooklyn sparrow with a broken wing. She has been wounded by her husband, who divorced her to turn homosexual. Robin brings out the possessive mother-tyrant in the widow, but in return Margaret Mary goads her into staking a personal claim on life.

Naturally, all ends well for all. The entire cast is tiptop, though when Hepburn smiles, audience eyes are bound to be glued to the sun goddess. The unlikeliest sight of all is the closing scene on the stage of Broadway's Ethel Barrymore Theater, when Katharine Hepburn "fakes" humility.

—*By T.E. Kalem*

Rue Tristesse

MERRILY WE ROLL ALONG
Music, Lyrics by Stephen Sondheim
Book by George Furth
Directed by Harold Prince

Harold Prince and Stephen Sondheim seem to have been born middle-aged. Rue, disenchantment, a kind of middle-aged *tristesse* recur in their collaborations. In the most brilliant of them, *Company* and *Follies*, melancholia about marriage and success was imminent but airborne; in *Merrily We Roll Along* it falls with the thud of a foregone conclusion.

Duplicating the chronologically backward structure of the George S. Kaufman and Moss Hart 1934 play of the same title, *Merrily* begins with the commencement address to the Class of '80 at Lake Forest Academy. The school's most famous graduate, a hugely successful composer and film producer, Franklin Shepard (Jim Walton) prates of the need to compromise in order to get ahead. But when the musical ends, and Franklin is the valedictorian of 1955, he gives a ringing, idealistic peroration. In tracking back over the quarter-century, we watch this singularly unappealing hero being cruelly false to his wife, his best friend and his creative gift. Why? Outside of the cliché lure of Hollywood's big bucks, George Furth's brittle, bitchy book never offers a plausible clue.

Considering that the members of the cast are in their late teens and early 20s, the evening is studded with exemplary performances. Lonny Price brings an agonizing honesty and the humorous, woebegone mien of Woody Allen to the role of Franklin's lyric-writing collaborator. Ann Morrison is perky and personable as an alcoholic film critic who relives her younger self as a smart, surging novelist.

Larry Fuller's choreography is mostly of the hop, skip and jump variety, rather like a discarded thought from Agnes de Mille's brain. To save the saddest for last, much of the show's score sounds like an aside from Sondheim. Fragmented strains from *Pacific Overtures*, *A Little Night Music*, *Company* and *Follies* filter through the air like aural ghosts. One ballad, *Not a Day Goes By*, beautifully captures the bittersweet mystery of love, and the single smash number of the musical, *Good Thing Going*, has the stamp of permanence about it. Frank Sinatra, who has impeccable judgment in such matters, has already recorded it in his current album. The album goes for $8.95. *Merrily We Roll Along*, at Broadway's Alvin Theater, goes for $35. Take your pick.

—*T.E.K.*

Price and Walton in *Merrily We Roll Along*

Aside by aside by aside by Sondheim

Red, White and Blue Boulevardier

Composer Virgil Thomson turns a hale and peppery 85

The way to write American music is simple. All you have to do is be an American, and then write any kind of music you wish
—Virgil Thomson

As a child in Kansas City, Mo., he banged out his first compositions at the piano, with the sustaining pedal down and the dynamic level up. Years later, an American sophisticate in Paris, he collaborated on an opera with Gertrude Stein. *Four Saints in Three Acts*, fashioning deceptively simple, homey music out of "Pigeons on the grass alas." His 1937 score for *Filling Station*, with its truck drivers, state troopers and gun-toting gangsters, became the first successful all-American ballet. Although serious composers generally have shunned film scores as hack work, he produced seven of them, and in 1949 collected a Pulitzer Prize for one, *Louisiana Story*. As music critic of the New York *Herald Tribune* from 1940 to 1954, he skewered arrogance and stupidity in the musical establishment with a perceptive gusto unknown since the critical heyday of George Bernard Shaw. Composer Aaron Copland, his contemporary, calls him "about as original a personality as America can boast." This week, in what is far from the least of his accomplishments, Virgil Thomson turns a hale and peppery 85.

The composer and his score: essentially a predecessor

The occasion was marked earlier this month with a concert performance of *Four Saints* at Carnegie Hall. Thomson bounded onstage for tumultuous curtain calls, still pink-cheeked and cherubic and grinning impishly. A recording of *Four Saints* is now being made and is due out next year. A new collection of his writings, *A Virgil Thomson Reader*, has just been issued (Houghton Mifflin; 582 pages; $25). Convivially holding court in the suite that he has occupied for decades in Manhattan's Chelsea Hotel, the old boy (as he has been fondly called) chats with a stream of visitors while fielding a barrage of calls from well-wishers and colleagues. (The phone's bell is amplified to fire-alarm intensity because of his partial deafness, his one apparent concession to age.)

A red, white and blue boulevardier, his native good sense sharpened with Parisian wit, Thomson deftly sidesteps the question of his reaction to all the tributes: "I don't know what my emotions are. I don't give them names. If you give names to your feelings, then you are stuck with them." Chatting with fellow Composer Philip Glass—whose opera *Satyagraha* has been the most discussed piece of the year—he succinctly bridges the gap between his own down-home aesthetic and Glass's new-wave minimalism: "Glass makes an opera in Sanskrit, and I make an opera in Gertrude Stein."

Thomson has always been a man of broad artistic sympathies. *Four Saints* astonished its first listeners with its folksy, hymnlike tunes drawn from the composer's Baptist background and sung by an all-black cast. Although the 1928 work has dated badly—a little of Gertrude Stein is, after all, a lot of Gertrude Stein—it is still a landmark, something that served to define what "American" was between the wars. In other works, Thomson has dabbled in modality and flirted with serialism; like Ives, he is not above quoting a famous melody (like *My Country, 'Tis of Thee*) when it suits his expressive purposes. The French influence on him is strong, as befits a prize pupil of Nadia Boulanger: the opening chords of the *Louisiana Story* suite might have been harmonized by Ravel. But whatever the style, the music is always unmistakably Thomson's: attractively urbane, piquant, eminently civilized.

Despite his cordiality to Glass, Thomson asserts: "There is less originality in music today than 50 years ago or 75 years, when it was booming. The major action now is the distillation of the novelties of 30 years ago." Ever the critic, he pithily appraises such composers as Elliott Carter ("not negligible"), John Cage ("a certain comic value") and Roger Sessions ("for the school and college trade"). Erik Satie, the sardonic French aesthete who raised understatement to a cardinal principle of composition, is still his ideal and greatest influence.

One of the last survivors, along with Copland and Sessions, of an important generation of composers that included Walter Piston, Roy Harris, Douglas Moore, Howard Hanson and Leo Sowerby, Thomson's lasting contributions are likely to be the two operas he wrote with Stein (the second was the 1947 *The Mother of Us All*) and his criticism. Critic Thomson cheerfully concurs about the operas, at least: "I think I am a good opera composer. There have been some 3,000 performances of *The Mother of Us All*. It makes you know it is foolproof." No major opera house has yet produced a Thomson opera, and the composer is puzzled by the neglect. But in the long run he is philosophical: "I agree with one French critic who said that I am essentially a predecessor." Of what? That is for his successors to decide. "Some artists close things," says Thomson. "I am the kind who opens things." —*By Michael Walsh. Reported by Nancy Newman/New York*

Critical Quips

Sampler of Thomson's writings:

On Beethoven's *Egmont Overture*. An hors d'oeuvre. Nobody's digestion was ever spoiled by it and no latecomer has ever lost much by missing it.

On Jascha Heifetz's Mozart. [It] tries . . . to make out of the greatest musician the world has ever known something between a sentimental Pierrot and a Dresden china clock.

On the New York Philharmonic (1943). The sound of it has of late years been more like an industrial blast than like a musical communication.

On *Die Meistersinger*. It is unique among Wagner's theatrical works in that none of the characters gets mixed up with magic or takes drugs.

On U.S. Vocal Music. [There are not] five American "art composers" who can be compared, as song writers, for either technical skill or artistic responsibility, with Irving Berlin.

On His Own Criticism. I thought of myself as a species of knight-errant attacking dragons singlehandedly and rescuing musical virtue in distress.

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What Price Pavarotti Inc.?

In a new role, the one-man conglomerate sells singing short

The opera probably should have been called Verdi's *Radames* instead of *Aida*. Never mind that more important roles are assigned to the eponymous soprano heroine and her mezzo nemesis, Amneris. In San Francisco last week, the attention and the money (up to $750 for scalpers' tickets) was on the tenor. Of course, the man who was singing Verdi's Egyptian captain for the first time in his career was no ordinary performer: it was the portly mink-coat model, frequent guest on the *Tonight* show, American Express–card pitchman, would-be movie star and, these days, part-time *primissimo tenore*. Yes, Giorgio, there is still a Luciano Pavarotti, superstar.

But at what price? What has become of the sweet voice that made its owner the most affecting Rodolfo of his generation in Puccini's *La Bohème*? What has befallen the technique that allowed Pavarotti to toss off the famous nine high Cs in an aria from Donizetti's *La Fille du Régiment* with the effortless abandon that marks only the greatest tenors? What has happened to the suave phrasing and sure sense of style, which made his recording of *Nessun dorma* from *Turandot* an example to musicians everywhere? Have Pavarotti's duties as operatic emissary to the world begun to interfere with what got him the job in the first place—his voice? The answer, alas, appears to be yes.

At the San Francisco Opera's glittering new production of *Aida*, a capacity audience—plus 3,000 more Pavarotti fans, watching a closed-circuit broadcast in a nearby auditorium, as well as live-television viewers in Germany, Austria and Spain—saw and heard him struggle unsuccessfully against the vocally ungrateful requirements of Radames. Not content with being the world's foremost lyric tenor, Pavarotti in recent years has been moving into the heavier *spinto* repertory, forsaking the Lord Arthur Talbots and Tonios of Bellini and Donizetti for roles that call for weightier, more declamatory singing—Enzo in Ponchielli's *La Gioconda*, for example, and Riccardo in Verdi's *Un Ballo in Maschera*. In doing so, however, Pavarotti has sacrificed much of his freshness and lyric bloom.

Last week the only "money" note for the tenor in *Aida*—the high B-flat at the end of *Celeste Aida*—was rough and ragged, belted out with a desperate fortissimo instead of the more difficult pianissimo that Verdi called for in the score. Elsewhere, Pavarotti's eyes clung to the safety of the prompter's box and the conductor's baton, leaving most of the acting to Sopra-no Margaret Price (battling a bronchial infection but singing well nonetheless) and Stefania Toczyska, a sultry Polish mezzo and a star of the future, whose Amneris blazed with passionate fury.

The *primo tenore* as Radames and Margaret Price as Aida in San Francisco's new production

Exploring weightier, declamatory repertory at a sacrifice of freshness and lyric bloom.

One wonders why Pavarotti, 46, is risking his voice and reputation on parts that do not fit him. But then for Luciano Pavarotti Inc., a multinational conglomerate, singing appears on its way to becoming a sideline in a continuing manufacture of commercialism and hype. No doubt Pavarotti, as his voice naturally darkens with age, will keep on exploring new repertory, in part to keep pace with his chief rival for tenoristic supremacy, Placido Domingo, whose voice is more versatile and better suited to such an undertaking. There are still flashes of the old form, as in the recent London recording of *La Traviata*, on which Lucianissimo sings Alfredo's *De' miei bollenti spiriti* with his talent in full cry. But such moments in live performances over the past couple of years are becoming steadily rarer. What becomes a legend most? In Pavarotti's case, singing well. —***By Michael Walsh***

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Exposing Secrets of the Closet

THE LANGUAGE OF CLOTHES *by Alison Lurie*
Random House; 273 pages; $20

In the age of electronic babble and self-actualization, people sometimes fall silent. Their clothes, on the other hand, never shut up. In her first work of nonfiction, Novelist Alison Lurie contends that clothing even has a complete grammar, a complex syntax and a large vocabulary. The accent, however, is rarely standard English. In Lurie's view, our apparel often speaks in the spicy euphemisms of a stand-up comic or trumpets the dim promises of a politician. The author has previously parodied social—and sexual—intercourse in her novels (*The War Between the Tates, The Nowhere City, Real People* and *Only Children*). In *The Language of Clothes*, she perceptively treats contemporary fashion as established parody. Paring the flash and roller-glitter of costume, her book becomes an intellectually provocative strip tease. Fashion, claims Lurie, is not the result of commercial brainwashing or a conspiracy of couturiers. Rather, contemporary costumes are the sartorial equivalent of free speech.

But that freedom does not always lead to the clearest statements. Today, she insists, fashion has become a Tower of Babel: "The BBC cameraman who buys his gear when on assignment in the States, and the American lady executive whose clothes were made in Italy, are in a sense imaginary citizens of Los Angeles and Rome, and may be expected to manifest some of the traits associated with these cities." Of course, some people simply do not care what their apparel says about them: "An article may be worn because it is warm or rainproof or handy to cover up a wet bathing suit—in the same way that persons of limited vocabulary use the phrase 'you know' or adjectives such as 'great' or 'fantastic.' "

New York couple displays *haute couture*

Most folks, however, remain prisoners of their wardrobes. Lurie rummages there and discovers a boutique of conflicting desires. The career woman who carries both a no-nonsense briefcase and a quilted handbag is sending contradictory signals. The young movie mogul in an $800 sports coat over a J.C. Penney denim shirt advertises his wealth while feigning his disregard of it. A frilly apron worn over a severe black dress announces that a woman is only playing at housekeeping.

By European standards, Americans often seem inappropriately dressed. When vacationing, says the author, they "wear clothes suitable for a trip to a disaster area, or for a visit to a zoo or a museum: comfortable, casual, brightly colored, relatively cheap: not calculated to arouse envy or pick up dirt." At home, what the author deems "regional speech" controls fashion. New Englanders still favor the conservative and tweedy British look. The white dress embellished with large flowers reigns in the South as an announcement that one can afford a laundress. Midwestern men favor suits the color of plowed cornfields. The Western states bloom with cowboy boots and ten-gallon hats. The California style, however, draws out the best in Lurie: "Clothes tend to fit more tightly than is considered proper elsewhere, and to expose more flesh . . . Virtuous working-class housewives may wear outfits that in any other part of the country would identify them as medium-priced whores." Children's clothing conveys different kinds of signals, Lurie believes. Working-class children don suits and fancy dresses for a weekend outing. The middle-class kids are the ones in jeans, sneakers and T shirts. The blue-collar children express upward aspirations by their miniature adult costumes; the white-collar children, notes Lurie, "are not expected to do more than equal their parents' status, and at the moment they are on probation."

Elsewhere, Lurie detects a curious connection between the two most publicized American styles, preppie and punk. In their Brooks Bros. and L.L. Bean gear,

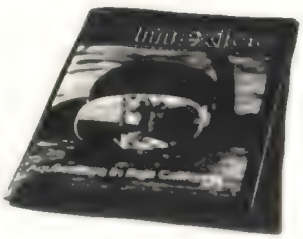
Victoria and Albert: past sartorial propriety

Tourists, a sculpture by Duane Hanson
Dressed for a trip to a disaster area

Excerpt

"Black underwear, in the popular imagination, is always erotic . . . however, it may also indicate a practical nature, since black always looks fresh. . . Such simple black underthings are often worn by thoughtful, intellectual women who take sex very seriously. Lacy and revealing black lingerie, on the other hand, is sophisticated, daring and occasionally wicked in its implications. Women who prefer it are more likely to become bored with partners, places and sexual positions; they are also less likely to sit up in bed exclaiming tearfully 'Oh, this is awful! What am I doing?' "

Bridging The Gap!



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preppies favor useless buckles on loafers, buttons on Oxford-cloth collars, straps on raincoats and safety pins on kilted skirts. These fastenings strike the author as powerful agents of emotional restraint. Punkers, on the other hand, leave zippers sagging, shirts unbuttoned and wear safety pins through their cheeks as though the flesh itself is literally exploding with rage. The styles may be disparate, Lurie concludes, but "both graphically convey the sense of a world, or a personality, in grave danger of coming apart."

This message of class confusion may be overstated, but Lurie's reports from the field of feminine fashion are witty and compact. On designer accessories: "Very ugly brown plastic handbags, which, because they were boldly stamped with the letters 'LV,' . . . cost far more than similar but less ugly brown leather handbags." On excess jewelry: a "lower-middle-class or *nouveau riche* indicator of sensual laxity." The "Annie Hall" look: "I'm only playing; I'm not really big enough to wear a man's pants." On executive skirts: "Ordinary gestures like sitting on a low sofa or stepping over a puddle become difficult." On high heels: "The halting tiptoe gait they produce is thought provocative—perhaps because it guarantees that no woman wearing them can outrun a man who is chasing her." On edible underwear: "If clothes were words, these would be like talking with your mouth full." Such insights are the constructs of fiction rather than the battlements of feminism. Lurie, after all, is neither psychologist nor sociologist; she remains a novelist

Like other writers who have had clothing on their minds—Dickens, Proust and Balzac—Lurie can be cranky, bright, bitchy and as startling as a nudist at a dress ball. *The Language of Clothes* may never be used as a standard text, but it is ideal for those who want to slip into something more comfortable. —*By J.D. Reed*

HELEN MARCUS

Alison Lurie
Startling as a nudist at a dress ball.

Tides of War

A trio of strong thrillers

For a few heady peacetime years, the *Normandie* was the most magnificent ship afloat. The dining room, it was boasted, was longer and more lustrous than the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles. But when the French liner burned and capsized at its Manhattan dock in 1942, it was not so much its beauty that was mourned as the loss of one of the fastest passenger ships ever built, then being refitted as an Allied troop transport that could outrun any U-boat. In *Normandie Triangle* (Arbor House; 475 pages; $13.95), Novelist Justin Scott evokes the grace and power of the great ship even as he describes its destruction and welds an ambitious Nazi stratagem to the smoldering hulk.

The U.S. Navy insists that the *Normandie's* sinking was accidental. Like many real-life experts, however, the novel's hero, Steven Gates, a naval architect who was aboard the ship when it burned, is convinced that Nazi saboteurs were responsible. In hope of proving his theory, Gates quits his top-level designing job and joins a salvage crew on the ship.

On another side of the triangle is the man who engineered the liner's demise, a Nazi spy posing as a Dutch salvage expert. Code-named the Otter, he is the illegitimate son of Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, head of German military intelligence, and thus has unlimited backing in a behind-the-lines war of disruption and sabotage aimed at closing the Port of New York.

The *Triangle's* overt heroes belong to a tough little unit called Group M, which spearheaded British intelligence in New York. They are engaged in a desperate effort to pin down Otter and keep the Atlantic sea lanes open. As an ironic result of Gates' own efforts to track down the master saboteur, the British group is convinced that he is the Otter. Gates meanwhile has found out that the German has smuggled over a minisub and plans to torpedo the *Queen Mary* with 15,000 troops aboard.

Justin Scott made his reputation in 1978 with *The Shipkiller*, a superbly written thriller that also had the sea and revenge as its themes. In *Normandie*, he is again a virtuoso of technical detail and characterization.

A compulsion of another sort drives *Schism* (Crown; 310 pages; $12.95), by Bill Granger. Father Leo Tunney, a Roman Catholic missionary and sometime CIA operative, totters back to civilization from the Cambodian jungle, where he has been missing for 20 years. Why? Before shipping him back to his order in Florida, the Company does its unsubtle best to pry the answer from the emaciated priest. Back home, Tunney attracts a lot of professional interest. There is a top KGB operative from Moscow, a sacerdotal snooper from the Vatican, a cold-blooded loner from a

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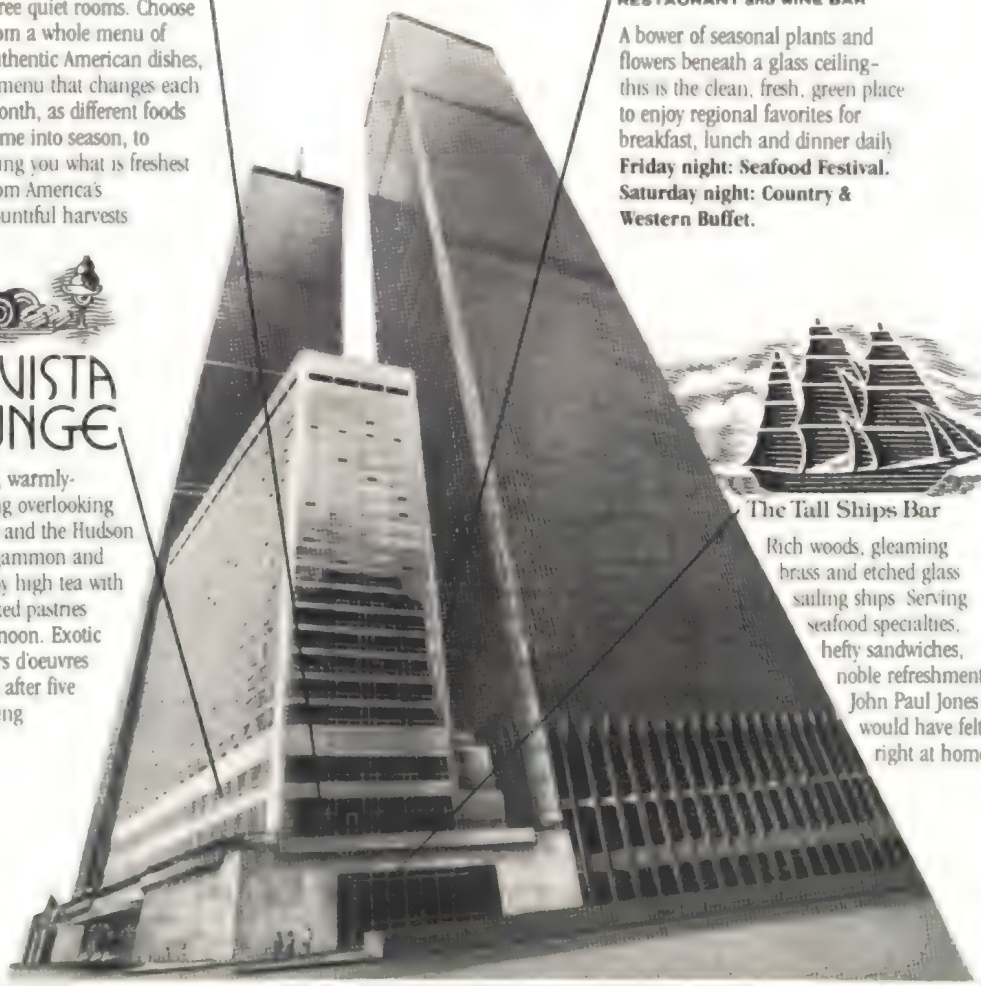

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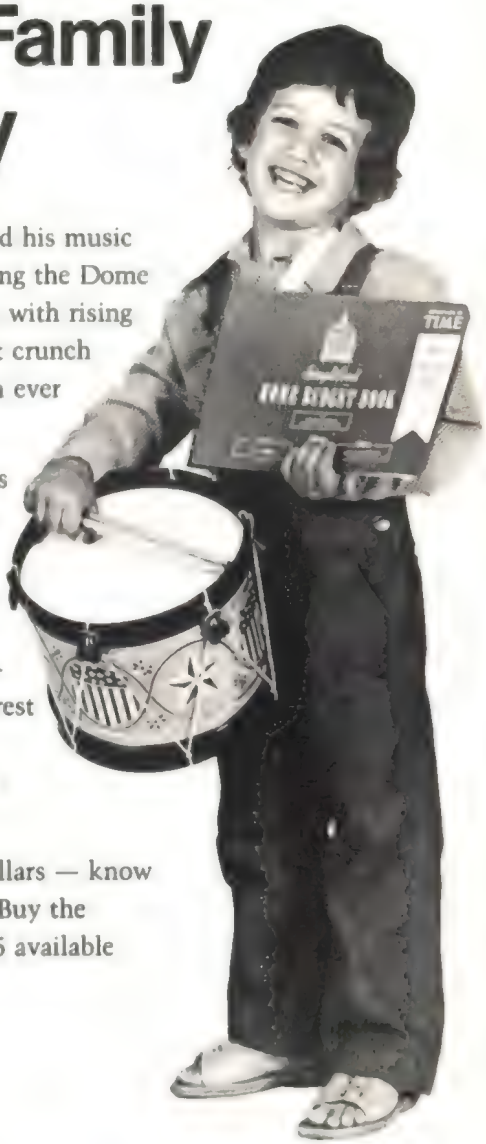

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Books

Justin Scott

A tough little unit called Group M.

Washington intelligence unit and enough assorted goons to fill a San Quentin production of *A Chorus Line*

What they are all after is a journal in which the priest describes a Cambodia-based Soviet military project that could trigger World War III. The priest's journal is finally retrieved by a comely, red-haired reporter, Rita Macklin, who, unlike most other fictional red-haired reporters, is both credible and vulnerable *Schism*, like his first novel, *November Man*, shows Bill Granger to be deft at high-wire suspense. His prose has the gritty tone of a Le Carré and a special feeling for a burned-out case

Also in the combat zone of the spirit is Stefan Kanfer's *Fear Itself* (Putnam: 215 pages; $12.95). Set for the most part in Europe, New York and Washington, his novel is a deeply felt portrayal of Nazi savagery, the specific horror of the Holocaust, the courage of the few, and a slumbrous, insensitive America. It is largely the story of Niccolò Levi, a talented young Jewish actor who, by late 1943, has joined the underground in his native Italy because, as he says, "nobody promised anything except survival, which is what an Italian Jew did best."

Levi's extraordinary memory and a chameleonic talent for impersonation enable him to evade capture for a while When the Germans do catch him, he is sent to the same Polish death camp where his child has been killed and his wife is dying. Her final moments permanently change Levi's life: "He understood everything now. He looked past the chimneys at the dull sun. It was at its midway point Noon. Poland's winter. 1944. He was to remember it as his last sane moment."

At the same time in Washington, F.D.R., weary and wasting, cannot understand why Jews are making such impassioned efforts to have him halt the Holocaust. "Always as if no one else were

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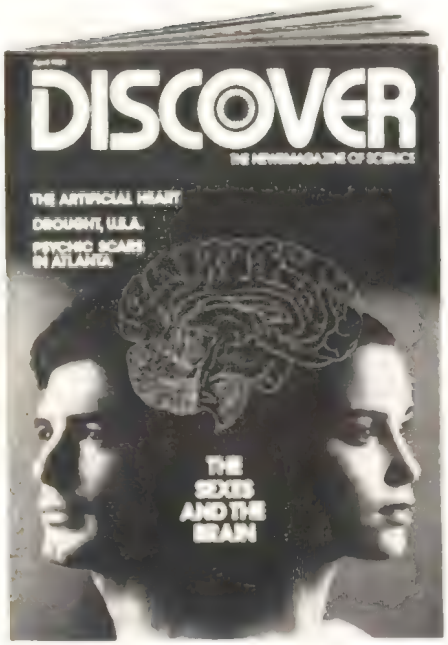

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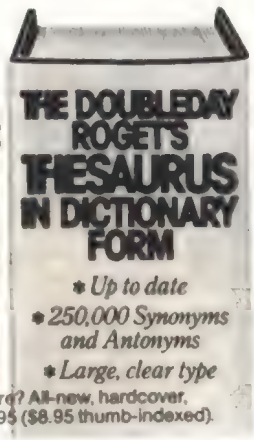

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suffering," sighs the President. "What about the French? What about the Chinese? What about our own boys at Anzio and Midway?"

Or New York, where American and German agents hunt and are hunted? Manhattan-based OSS Agent Carl Berlin picks up a trail that leads to something big. Berlin, a German-born Jew, learns that Levi has escaped the death camp and is already in the U.S. His purpose: to stamp the plight of the Jews on the world's conscience by assassinating Roosevelt. This seems incredible: the Italian actor is in Hollywood beginning a movie career even though he can barely speak English. However, Levi's disappearance from a film studio sets off a cross-country chase. With a sackful of disguises, Levi makes his way to Warm Springs, Ga., where F.D.R. is soaking his paralyzed legs. The showdown brings on Nazi agents and a three-way shootout, though that is not the way the story ends.

For all the blood between its pages, *Fear Itself* is a celebration of life. Kanfer, Books editor of TIME and author of *The Eighth Sin*, a 1978 novel about Nazi efforts to exterminate gypsies, writes with wit, subtlety and passion. Not all the ire is directed at the death-camp butchers. In passages as sardonic as any ever written about war-bloated Hollywood, Kanfer describes the unconcern of some successful American Jews for their doomed brethren in Europe. It is a part of the terrible secret that *Fear Itself* embodies in an exciting work of fiction. —*By Michael Demarest*

Best Sellers

FICTION

1. An Indecent Obsession, *McCullough (1 last week)*
2. Cujo, *King (3)*
3. No Time for Tears, *Freeman*
4. The Hotel New Hampshire, *Irving (2)*
5. Remembrance, *Steel (7)*
6. Noble House, *Clavell (4)*
7. The Cardinal Sins, *Greeley (8)*
8. The Last Ambassador, *Kalb*
9. The Legacy, *Fast (5)*
10. Baja Oklahoma, *Jenkins*

NONFICTION

1. Richard Simmons' Never-Say-Diet Book, *Simmons (1)*
2. A Light in the Attic, *Silverstein*
3. How to Make Love to a Man, *Penney (3)*
4. The Lord God Made Them All, *Herriot (6)*
5. Elvis, *Goldman (7)*
6. The Beverly Hills Diet, *Mazel (4)*
7. Cosmos, *Sagan (9)*
8. Pathfinders, *Sheehy (2)*
9. Weight Watchers 365-Day Menu Cookbook, *Weight Watchers International*
10. A Few Minutes with Andy Rooney, *Rooney*

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BACARDI Daiquiri
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with Bacardi rum.

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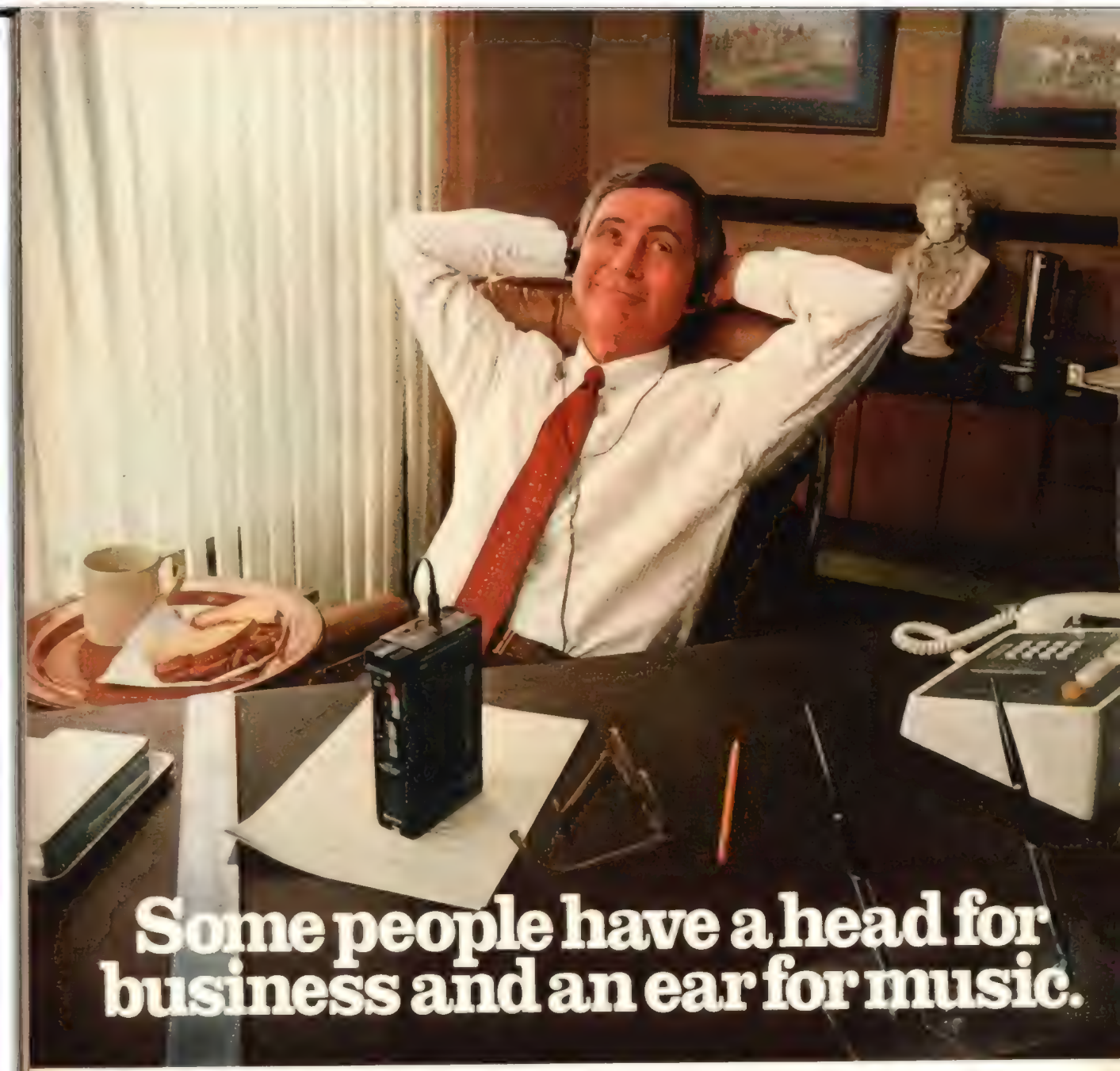

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When Scandals Do Not Scandalize

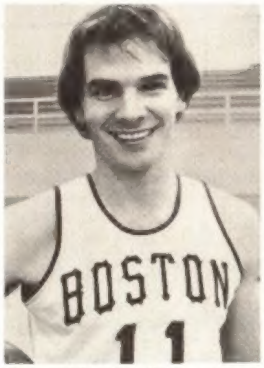
Despite sordid charges, a basketball-fix trial stirs little interest

In federal court in Brooklyn, a tall, sad young man from Boston College has been on trial more than a month, accused of shaving points in six B.C. basketball games during the 1978-79 season. Perhaps he will learn the jury's verdict this week. His name is Rick Kuhn, and except for the eyes, he seems younger than 26. He sits at the defense table alone, but in the company of four other defendants, men with even older eyes and Damon Runyon–sounding names, including convicted extortionist Jimmy ("the Gent") Burke. The testimony has been a seamy accounting of gamblers, kids, bribes and beating Harvard by "less than twelve."

Strangely, this is the first time a college player has ever actually stood trial on the charge of point shaving. Before, there were guilty pleas. But neither the press nor the public has appeared too interested in the trial. Except in Boston, little feeling has been stirred by the story. One wonders. The matter may be a simple one of honor forfeited at a young age, but it may also tell of the innocence of an age lost altogether.

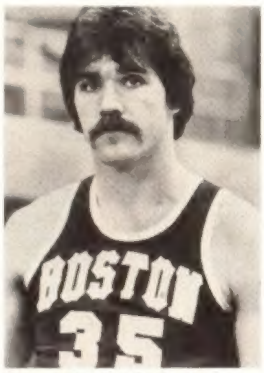
Around college basketball, "scandal" is a word from 1951 or 1961, outdated now. Sportswriter Arthur Daley, writing of the '51 fix charges involving 33 players at seven schools, observed: "All scandals are ugly, and this is a particularly vicious one because it touches the presumably untouched." Can there be any such presumption in '81?

Now the scandal may be that followers of college sports are incapable of being scandalized. The well-known climate of corruption, exploitation and hypocrisy is also well-documented, if only in the National Collegiate Athletic Association's own rap sheets, so hard to keep up with these days. What was it again that was going on at the University of New Mexico? The University of Miami? The University of Colorado? Oregon State? Arizona State? Oklahoma State? All of these, and others, are now on N.C.A.A. probation.



Shamed Captain Sweeney

Because of the nature of the game, basketball probably leads all sports in recruiting excesses. One great player can be enough for a championship. The usual rationale for rule bending—"everyone does it"—never was expressed so emphatically or officially as in a district court in New Mexico last July. When former University of New Mexico Coach Norm Ellenberger was convicted of defrauding the state and making false public vouchers (in order to use the money as a back-pocket fund for recruits), Judge Phillip Baiamonte pronounced sentence by wondering, "How fair is it to incarcerate in prison a coach who was basically doing what almost everybody in this community wanted him to do? Namely, win basketball games at any cost . . . I'm being asked to sentence a man because he got caught, not because his conduct was unacceptable." Ellenberger got off with one year of unsupervised probation.



Accused point shaver Kuhn

Booked in 1951: from right, Kentucky's Alex Groza, Beard and Dale Barnstable

The original function of intercollegiate athletics as an extracurricular activity is a laughable thought today, long lost in the rush for ticket sales, television contracts and alumni contributions. The stakes are certainly high enough to explain the under-the-table handouts to players: the cash, the cars and the altered transcripts of academic grades. And then to this atmosphere of expedience add the element of gambling.

What does shading a rule have to do with shaving a point? "For at least 20 years now, recruiting practices in college basketball have been completely corrupt," says Bob Cousy, the great Celtics guard who coached at Boston College from 1963 through 1969. "When the example has been set by institutions, impressionable kids get the idea. Do it any way you can. Get the grade, get the votes, get to the top of the ladder—get the money. Should we be surprised if in the basketball games at school—or three or four years down the line in business—they follow those guidelines along the road of least resistance? We teach them how the game is played. Why are we surprised when they play the game the way they were taught it?"

How does that chilling line go? Anyone who can be paid to make a shot can be paid not to make one.

Inured as people are to news of athletic improprieties, they are equally unconcerned about the gambling tone that pervades even the best newspapers' sports sections: full of odds, point spreads and columns on how to bet. Jimmy ("the Greek") Snyder furnishes television with both a gambling expertise and persona. Yet betting on sports such as baseball, football or basketball is illegal everywhere in the U.S. except Nevada.

College basketball coaches worry and sometimes complain about the practice of publishing betting lines so blithely. Angrily, Indiana's Bobby Knight likens it to listing the phone numbers of prostitutes. Some coaches, including Lou Carnesecca of St. John's, still begin every season by passing around a scrapbook of yellowed clippings from the " '51 scandals"—tattered stories of Sherman White (Long Island University), Floyd Layne (City College of New York) or Ralph Beard (Kentucky). But he may be making a different, unintended point as well. Those clippings are yellowed, and today's scandals just do not make the same sort of headlines.

Coaches are always saying that kids nowadays are made of no better or worse clay than they ever were, even the captains of the team, the Rhodes-scholar finalists, like B.C.'s Jim Sweeney. Sweeney testified as a Government witness against Kuhn and the other defendants; he has admitted accepting money through Kuhn but denied going along with any fix. When Sweeney spoke of shamefully tacking the $500 in his closet, it recalled Ed Warner of C.C.N.Y. three decades ago, hiding the money in a shoebox in an aunt's basement. They must have felt about the same. —*By Tom Callahan*

A Hurricane and Two Survivors

Three new books tell all about Liz, Dick and Eddie

Where would gossip be without Elizabeth Taylor? Barely breathing, obviously. Probably no one in the past 30 years has provided better copy or set more tongues wagging. Now, by a curious coincidence, three books have just been published that should give her a permanent place in the Gossip Hall of Fame. The first, Kitty Kelley's *Elizabeth Taylor* is about the lady herself. The second, *Eddie: My Life, My Loves* is the autobiography of her fourth husband, Eddie Fisher. The third, Paul Ferris' *Richard Burton*, is a biography of her fifth and sixth husband. But all are really, at least in the good parts, about Liz.

Richard Burton chatting with Mr. and Mrs. Eddie Fisher on the set of *Cleopatra* (1962)

"She's going to make me a star. I'm going to use her, that no-talent Hollywood nothing."

Kitty Kelley subtitles her book *The Last Star*, but she might just as well have said *The Last Vamp*. Taylor probably is the end of a line that stretches back to Clara Bow: flamboyant, outsize and so self-absorbed and utterly beautiful that anyone who comes near is likely to be drawn into her orbit by force of gravity. As Fisher puts it somewhat less kindly, "Elizabeth liked to collect trophies."

Fisher, the teen-age singing crush of the '50s, was of course one of her trophies—though it is hard to fathom why she bothered. But bother she did. Half the nation professed to be outraged when Fisher left sweet, unaffected Debbie Reynolds for the widow of his best friend, Mike Todd. Or was that a case of several mistaken identities? Reynolds, says Fisher, was neither sweet nor unaffected, and he had been unhappy with her almost from the beginning. He soon discovered that life with Liz, however, was an adventure for which he was unprepared: "Children, pets, servants, minor problems transformed into major tragedies, confusion, chaos, everything at fever pitch . . . Living with her was like living with a hurricane; each storm built in intensity, then subsided into an eerie calm as the eye passed, only to begin all over again."

Yet even when she was busy with Fisher she was seeking other trophies, according to Kelley's complete but rather mean-spirited account (Simon & Schuster; $14.95). Perhaps the oddest head on Taylor's wall is that of Columnist Max Lerner. A professor of American civilization at Brandeis University and the distinguished author of numerous heavy tomes, Lerner was 57 when they began their romance. He was clearly flattered out of his Ph.D.s by finding that he was attractive to a creature like Taylor—"She said I was her intellectual Mike Todd," he brags to Kelley—and the most amusing part of all three books is listening to Lerner burble on and on and on about things that civilized men are supposed to keep to themselves. Perhaps the second greatest amusement is Fisher's apparently straight-faced comment: "The attention of a man like Lerner, a renowned intellectual, was proof that she had a brain."

In fact, from all the evidence here, Taylor—not to mention Burton and Fisher—spent much of the time proving just the opposite. She desperately tried to get out of a picture, *Butterfield 8*, that eventually won her an Academy Award. When the film was first shown to her and the ever compliant Fisher, they thought it was so bad that they threw their drinks at the screen. She felt more at home in *Cleopatra*, but off-camera she quickly fell under the spell of Burton, her Antony. He, in turn, held her in contempt, at least at the beginning. As Fisher—not the most objective source, to be sure—tells the story, Burton was mainly interested in latching on to the international fame that Liz so abundantly had. "You don't need her. You're a star already," Burton supposedly told the then husband. "I'm not. She's going to make me a star. I'm going to use her, that no-talent Hollywood nothing."

These books are full of silly superlatives, but here is one they forgot: not since 390 B.C., when the sacred geese warned that invading Gauls were climbing to the top of the Capitol, had Rome heard so much cackling as it did over the Taylor-Burton affair. Taylor worked and played with Burton during the day, then came home to Fisher at night, all in full view of *paparazzi*. One day, Fisher recounts, "she brought Burton to the villa. Burton immediately went into some kind of act. He turned to Elizabeth and growled, 'Who do you love?' Terrified, Elizabeth looked at me and then at him and said, 'You.' 'That's the right answer,' Burton said, 'but it wasn't quick enough.' " Adds Fisher: "It was such a bizarre scene that I was speechless. Maybe I should have busted Burton in the mouth and thrown him out of the house." Maybe, but if Taylor was the Face, and Burton the Voice, Fisher was the Wimp.

Still, Fisher's, or his ghostwriter's, analysis of Liz is acute. She loves combat, he says, and the more Burton insulted her, the more determined she was to bring him to heel: "I had forgotten that Elizabeth never did anything halfway. Her commitments were total. If she saw something she wanted, she went after it until it was hers for keeps." She succeeded, for a decade anyway, with Burton, before they both went on to other marriages. Meantime, Fisher, now 54, has never managed to rekindle his career to the glow of the '50s, and his autobiography (Harper & Row; $14.95) is poignant in its chronicle of his rise and fall. Burton, 56, plagued by a spine ailment, also seems at a standstill; the same could be said of Ferris' plodding biography (Coward, McCann & Geoghegan; $13.95). But Taylor, 49, a U.S. Senator's wife who overwhelmed Broadway and is breaking house records in Los Angeles with *The Little Foxes*, seems capable of keeping the tongues wagging for another 30 years.

—**By Gerald Clarke**

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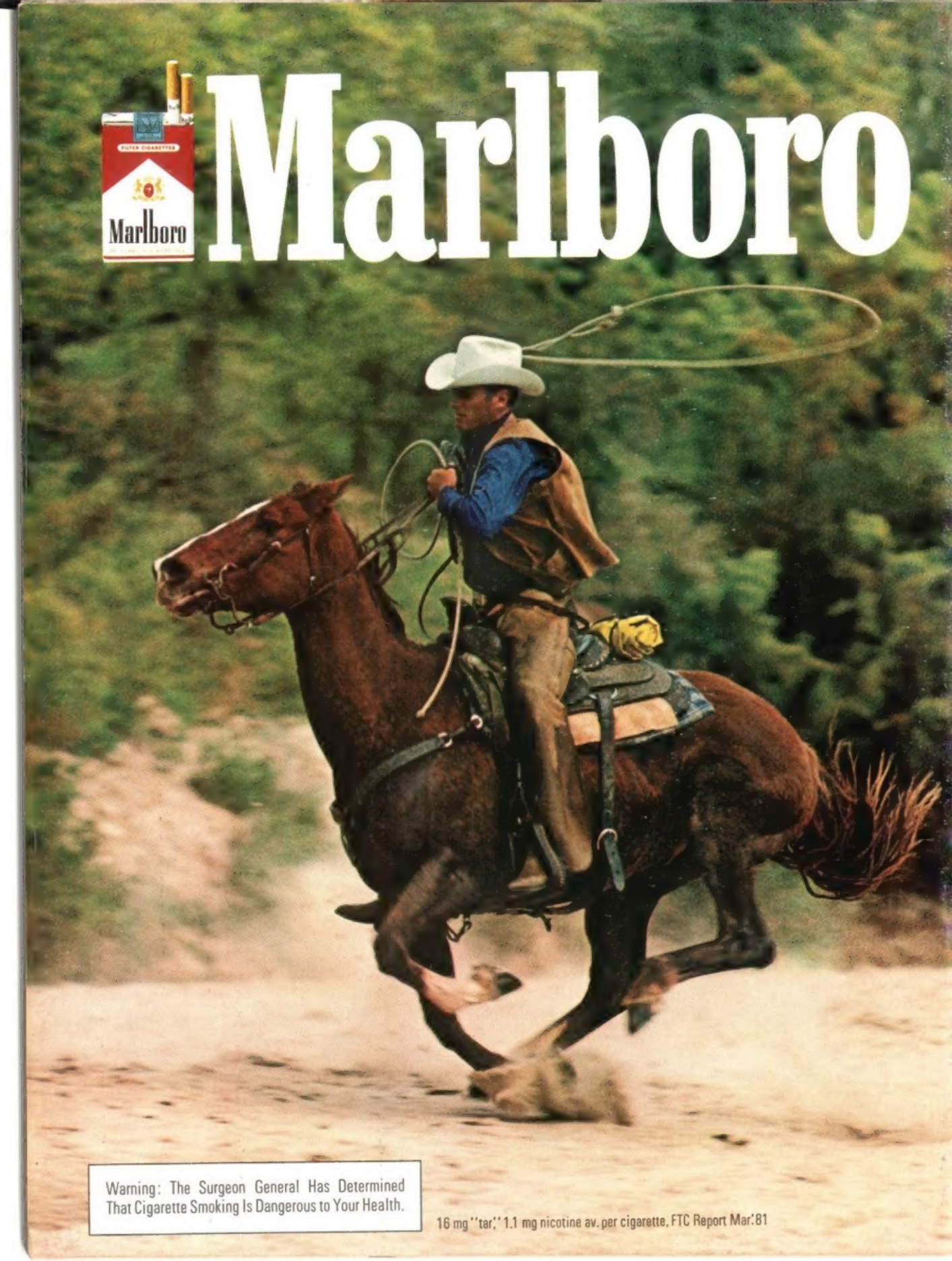
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